

## CHAPTER I

### FROM ATTALUS TO POMPEY

*The Will of Attalus and the Revolt of Aristonicus.* That Attalus Philometor left a will naming the Romans his heirs is a fact beyond dispute.<sup>1</sup> The almost unanimous record of ancient authors is partly confirmed by a Pergamene decree of 133 B. C. (*O. G. I. S.*, 338; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 289) which mentions the will.<sup>2</sup> The conditions under which the inheritance was accepted by Tiberius Gracchus have been discussed in Vol. I (239 f.); the terms of the will and the organization of the inheritance will be discussed below. Before any policy could be made effective the pretender Aristonicus, who claimed to be a natural son of the king, began a serious revolt which lasted three years before it was quelled by the combined forces of the Greek cities, the Romans, and the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia.<sup>3</sup> Most significant economically are the widespread unrest which accompanied the revolt and the character of the pretender's support, which reveals a direct opposition between city and country. There was trouble with the Thracians at Sestos (*O. G. I. S.*, 339, ll. 53 f.); and Cyzicus was endangered (*I. G. R. P.*, IV, 134, ll. 5-9, 19 f.). In the first phase of the war Aristonicus won Phocaea,<sup>4</sup> and captured Leucaea,<sup>5</sup> Samos and Colophon, and Myndus<sup>6</sup> of Caria. After his defeat by sea he was strong enough by land to trouble Pergamum,<sup>7</sup> take Thyatira and Apol-

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, LVIII: heredem autem populum Romanum reliquerat Attalus, rex Pergami; Strabo, XIII, 4, 2; Livy, *Epit.*, LIX; Justin., XXXVI, 4; Vell. Pat., II, 4; Val. Max., V, 2, ext. 3; Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXIII, 148; Florus, I, 35, 47; II, 3; App., *Mith.*, 62; *Bell. Civ.*, V, 4; Jul. Obseq., 87; Eutropius, IV, 18; *Auct. De Vir. Illustr.*, 64, 5; Porphyrio on Horace, *Carm.*, I, 1, 12; Jerome, *an. Abr.*, 1887; Orosius, *Contra Pagan.*, V, 8; Servius, *ad Aen.*, I, 697; *ad Georg.*, III, 25; Claudian, VIII, 215. The suspicions expressed in the letter of Mithridates to Arsaces, Sallust, *Hist.*, IV, 69 (Maurenbrecher): simulatque impio testamento, and of Porphyrio on Horace, *Carm.*, II, 18, 5 are *ex parte* or poorly founded.

<sup>2</sup> Δεῖ δὲ ἐκρυπτοῦναι τὴν διαθή[κην] ἐν τῷ 'Ρωμαίων. . .

<sup>3</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, LIX; Strabo, XIV, 1, 38; Diodorus, XXXIV-XXXV, 2, 26; Florus, I, 35; Justin., XXXVI, 4, 6; XXXVII, 1; Val. Max., III, 2, 12; Frontin., *Strateg.*, IV, 5, 16; Eutrop., IV, 20; Orosius, V, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Justin., XXXVII, 1, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, XIV, 1, 38; Aul. Gell., *N. A.*, I, 13, 11-13.

<sup>6</sup> Florus, I, 35.

<sup>7</sup> See below on *O. G. I. S.*, 338; cf. also *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 292, which speaks of debts,

lonis,<sup>8</sup> attack Smyrna<sup>9</sup> and create disturbances in Caria which menaced cities like Bargylia.<sup>10</sup> Even after he was crushed and taken prisoner at Stratoniceia of Lydia<sup>11</sup> it was necessary to lead an expedition to pacify the country about the fortified villages of Mysia Abbaitis.<sup>12</sup> We find that aid against him was summoned from points as far apart as Byzantium<sup>13</sup> and Halicarnassus,<sup>14</sup> war contributions are mentioned from Methymna of Lesbos,<sup>15</sup> and help was given by the native kings.<sup>16</sup> The struggle involved a great part of western Asia Minor. That the pretender's main support came from the lower classes, largely non-urban and non-Greek, is apparent from Strabo, XIV, 1, 38: "He went up into the interior and quickly assembled a large number of resourceless people, and also of slaves, invited with a promise of freedom, whom he called Heliopolitae" (from Iambulus' City of the Sun). Slaves mistreated by their masters are mentioned by Diodorus (XXXIV-XXXV, 2, 26). The Thracian guards referred to by Valerius Maximus<sup>17</sup> (III, 2, 12) may have come from the Thracian invaders mentioned above, but were most probably drawn from the former royal army.<sup>18</sup> His force therefore consisted chiefly of slaves and serfs and needy men, probably mostly from crown lands, royal and large private estates, but supplemented by hillmen of Mysia Abbaitis and perhaps also by native people from some of the city territories. The defection of these and of royal soldiers from Pergamum was so

high rates of interest, taking of hostages, billeting of soldiers, reduction of expenses due to them, reduction of taxes, worthless bills, all relieved through the efforts of Diodorus Paspurus, son of Herodes. It speaks also of the lives of those removed by Mithridates (IV?) . . . in a war which brought intolerable danger to the city (cf. *ib.*, 1692 from Elaea).

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, XIV, 1, 38.

<sup>9</sup> Aristides, XIX K, 11; cf. Val. Max., III, 2, 11-13.

<sup>10</sup> Holleaux, *R. E. A.*, XXI (1919), 1 ff.; Foucart, *Mém. Acad. Insc.*, XXXVII (1904), 297 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Eutropius, IV, 20; Orosius, V, 10, 1; cf. Broughton, *C. Ph.*, XXIX (1934), 252 f. and for Stratoniceia of Caria, Holleaux, *loc. cit.*; L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, 43 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Holleaux, *loc. cit.*, 2: ἀναξεύξαντος ἐπ[ὶ] Μυσίας τῆς καλουμένης Ἀβ[βα]ιτίδος εἰς τοὺς ἀνω τόπους, . . . καὶ τὰ ὀχυρώ[ματα πάντα] δοκοῦντα εἶναι δυσάλγῃ [κατὰ] κράτος λαβόντος, . . .

<sup>13</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 62.

<sup>14</sup> Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, XI (1908), 69.

<sup>15</sup> *S. E. G.*, III, 710: 3100 staters by the *neoi* of Methymna.

<sup>16</sup> Orosius, V, 10, 1; Eutropius, IV, 20; Justin., XXXVII, 1.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Frontinus, *Strateg.*, IV, 5, 16.

<sup>18</sup> *C. A. H.*, VIII, 596.

great that the Pergamenians passed the decree mentioned above extending the citizenship to residents, soldiers settled on the land, etc., adding the sanction that all residents, male or female, who after the king's death had left or should leave the city and the land should forfeit their civic rights and everything pertaining to the status either of citizens or residents of the city (*O. G. I. S.*, 338; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 289).<sup>19</sup> Against Aristonicus and his native supporters Pergamum and most of the Greek cities<sup>20</sup> held firm, possibly with an eye to Roman favor, or because those subject to Pergamum were left free by the will of Attalus;<sup>21</sup> so too did the kings,<sup>22</sup> who themselves tended to encourage Greek ways and could hardly view with equanimity a rising of depressed classes or the founding of a Heliopolis in or near their borders. The revolt of Aristonicus thus gives us a glimpse of social and economic conditions in Asia in 133 B. C. The victory of the combined forces of Rome and the Greek cities over a native movement was a symbol of the future Hellenization of the province.

*Provisions of the Will and the Senatorial Settlement.* Freedom and control of its land, including crown lands, military allotments, and villages within the area, was certainly accorded the city of Pergamum,<sup>23</sup> subject of course to ratification of the will by Rome. Except for a hint in Plutarch (*Ti. Gracch.*, 14)<sup>24</sup> that the Romans were to settle the status of the cities included in the kingdom we have no evidence

<sup>19</sup> ὅσοι δ[ὲ] τῶν κατοικοῦντων ἢ ὅσαι ἐγγελοῖσιν ὑπὸ τὸν και[ρὸν] τῆς (τελευτῆς) τοῦ βασιλέ[ως] ἢ ἐγλίπωσιν τῇ πόλιν ἢ τῇ γ[α] χώραν, εἶναι αὐτοὺς κα[ὶ] αὐτὰς ἀτίμους τε καὶ τὰ ἐκατέρων ὑπάρχοντα τῆς πόλεως.

<sup>20</sup> According to Florus (I, 35) Aristonicus easily won some cities accustomed to obey the kings and compelled a few others to join him; Thyatira, a Macedonian colony, was taken by surprise (Strabo, XIV, 1, 38) and also Apollonis, an Attalid one, and other fortresses were attacked. Strabo makes clear the general opposition of the cities to him (εὐθὺς αἵτε πόλεις ἐπεμψαν πλῆθος); cf. also Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 55 and Aristides, *loc. cit.* For Sestos, Cyzicus, Halicarnassus, Byzantium, Bargylia, and Methymna see above.

<sup>21</sup> See below. Justin's statement (XXXVI, 4, 6) that it was through fear of the Romans that many cities refused to surrender to Aristonicus and the slur which Appian (*Mith.*, 62) puts in Sulla's address to the principal cities of Asia, that they aided Aristonicus for four years and returned to their duty only under the impulse of necessity and fear, are inventions based on later conditions.

<sup>22</sup> Strabo, XIV, 1, 38; Justin., XXXVII, 1; Orosius, V, 10, 1; Eutrop., IV, 20; see also below.

<sup>23</sup> *O. G. I. S.*, 338 = *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 289: ἀπολελοιπεν τῇ[μ] πατρίδι α ἡμῶν ἐλευθέραν προσορίσας αὐτῇ καὶ πολε[ιτικῇ] γ[α] χώραν ἣν ἔκριν[εν].

<sup>24</sup> Plut., *Ti. Gracch.*, 14: περὶ δὲ τῶν πόλεων, ὅσαι τῆς Ἀττάλου βασιλείας ἦσαν, οὐδὲν ἐφ' ᾧ συγκλήτῳ βουλευέσθαι προσήκειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δήμῳ γνώμην αὐτοὺς προθήσειν.

regarding them. That the city of Pergamum felt free to enroll the freedmen and royal slaves as residents, except for those purchased under the last two kings and those who belonged to confiscated properties,<sup>25</sup> indicates that they were expressly freed by the terms of the will, for if Pergamum was using the excuse of danger to encroach upon Roman claims she would have encroached farther. So far as we know, all else, including the classes of slaves just mentioned and the confiscated properties, which were probably personal property of the kings (*οὐσιαί*),<sup>26</sup> crown lands, private estates, claims to tribute and service, factories, and treasury, was at the disposal of Rome.

The Roman commission came with instructions to ratify all royal acts up to the day of Attalus' death and to change none without cause,<sup>27</sup> perhaps also bound by a law of Tiberius Gracchus to send the Attalid treasure home.<sup>28</sup> Since the revolt of Aristonicus probably left Manius Aquillius and the commission free to apportion punishment and reward without regard to the terms of the will, the resultant settlement may be taken as a true index of Roman policy. The Romans at one stroke rewarded the kings and freed themselves from the necessity of governing loosely organized and poorly Hellenized regions<sup>29</sup> by giving them various territories. The sons of Ariarathes of Cappadocia received the part of Cilicia<sup>30</sup> about Cybistra, and perhaps, as Justin says (XXXVII, 1, 2), Lycaonia too. Mithridates of Pontus, who apparently offered Manius Aquillius a larger bribe than Nicomedes of Bithynia, received Greater Phrygia,<sup>31</sup> but without the rich and populous cities of the southwestern portion,<sup>32</sup> a gift that aroused dissatisfaction in Rome and was withdrawn after the death of Mithridates in 120 B. C.<sup>33</sup> Nicomedes and Pylaemenes of Paphlagonia may have

<sup>25</sup> See above on *O. G. I. S.*, 338.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Justin., XXXVI, 4: *caedibus amicorum et cognatorum suppliciis*; Diodor., XXXIV-XXXV, 3. Their properties were probably confiscated.

<sup>27</sup> *O. G. I. S.*, 435, ll. 11 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, LVIII; Plut., *Ti. Gracch.*, 14; *Aut. de Viris Illustr.*, 64.

<sup>29</sup> The principle as practised later is stated by Strabo, XIV, 5, 6.

<sup>30</sup> Strabo, XII, 1, 4. The mention of Castabala is probably a mistake.

<sup>31</sup> Justin., XXXVII, 1, 2; C. Gracchus, *Dissuasio Legis Aufeiae* in Malcovati, *O. R. F.*, II, 137; Appian, *Mith.*, 57: *Φρυγίαν δὲ σοι Μάριος ἔδωκεν ἐνὶ δωροδοκίᾳ*; cf. *ib.*, 11; *B. C.*, I, 22; Cic., *Pro Cluentio*, 127.

<sup>32</sup> The milestone of Aquillius found at Tacina, *C. I. L.*, III, 7177, *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 880, apparently was numbered from Ephesus via Apameia. Ramsay, *C. B.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 296, 330 f. believes that the road ran near the southern boundary of the province.

<sup>33</sup> See below.



been given portions of Phrygia Epictetus.<sup>34</sup> What happened to Milyas and western Pamphylia we are not told. To the province formed from the now diminished western portion of the kingdom Caria was added for administrative convenience because of the recent unrest, but the continuance there of an unusual number of free and allied cities<sup>35</sup> shows that its status was still felt to be different from the rest of the province, conditioned by Rome's declaration of its freedom in 167. There were a few cities to punish; Phocaea was saved by the good offices of Massilia but lost its freedom;<sup>36</sup> Stratoniceia on the Caicus was probably destroyed.<sup>37</sup> What punishment was meted out to the rest of the supporters of Aristonicus we do not know.<sup>38</sup>

Otherwise the commission continued to avoid administrative responsibility even at the cost of opportunities for added revenues. The cities formerly subject to Pergamum, as well as Pergamum itself, received both freedom and immunity from taxation.<sup>39</sup> The others continued in their previous relationship to Rome. Apparently the organization of the non-urban communities was not changed. Inscriptions probably dating before the Mithridatic wars mention the peoples, (cities?), and tribes in Asia.<sup>40</sup> There is no evidence that the crown lands were con-

<sup>34</sup> Strabo, XII, 4, 1; 8, 1; 3, 7. Cf. Sölch, *Klio*, XI (1911), 393 ff.; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, etc., 156.

<sup>35</sup> See Part II, chapter II.

<sup>36</sup> Justin., XXXVII, 1, 1; given freedom by Pompey in 49 B. C., Cass. Dio, XLI, 25, 3.

<sup>37</sup> A cistophoric mint under the kings, Head, *Hist. Num.*, 657; revived by Hadrian, *B. C. H.*, XI (1887), 108 ff.; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1156; cf. *C. Ph.*, XXIX (1934), 252 ff. and for a contrary view L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, 47 f.

<sup>38</sup> Perhaps the sudden cessation of the cistophoric mint at Tralles by 126 B. C. indicates that Tralles was punished, Head, *Hist. Num.*, 659 f.; *B. M. C.*, *Lydia*, cxxxvii.

<sup>39</sup> Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, V, 4: οὗς γὰρ ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν, μέχρι δημοκόπων ἀνδρῶν (i. e. C. Gracchus and his supporters) καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων ἐδέξατο φόρων. There are immediate references to the freedom of Pergamum, *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 292 (embassy of Diodorus Paspurus); cf. 293, 294; 1692 (at Elaea): προσ[δέδεκ]ται τὸν δῆ[μον] ἡμῶν πρὸς τε τὴν φ[ιλίαν] καὶ συμμα[χίαν]; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, XIV, 10, 22: σύμμαχοι ὄντες Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα (c. 110 B. C.). Ephesus and Sardis concluded a treaty with each other with military clauses in the proconsulate of Mucius Scaevola, *O. G. I. S.*, 437. In Caria Bargylia arbitrated a dispute between Rhodes and Stratoniceia of Caria, *R. E. A.*, XXI (1919), 1 ff. (Part B), in 129 B. C. They were all free cities then. Rhodes of course was a treaty ally of Rome. See Part II, ch. II.

<sup>40</sup> αὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, *O. G. I. S.*, 438 = *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 188 (Poemanenum); *O. G. I. S.*, 439 (Olympia); *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 291 (Pergamum); *O. G. I. S.*, 437 = *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 297, treaty between Ephesus and Sardis, 98-95 B. C.; cf. *Rev. Philol.*, XXV (1901), 85 ff.

sidered or treated as *ager publicus*. It seems better to assume that actual possessors were treated as owners, whether they were small landlords or wealthy possessors of old fiefs.<sup>41</sup> In such cases their rights to their former proportion of the crops and to labour of the serfs<sup>42</sup> would be preserved and the Roman government, doubtless through the quaestor under the proconsul, collected from them as well as from the other stipendiary communities the former Attalid tithe. Temple territories were probably granted immunity and protected carefully, a reversal of Attalid policy.<sup>43</sup> The personal estates of the king became *ager publicus*,<sup>44</sup> some of which may possibly have been sold. The factories were closed; it is possible that the silver mines continued to be worked,<sup>45</sup> but the quarries were neglected until the Empire.<sup>46</sup> The private treasures, gold, vessels, fine clothes, were brought to Rome,

<sup>41</sup> See Part II, chapter I; cf. my article in *T. A. P. A.*, LXV (1934), 207 ff. and the literature quoted there, esp. *J. R. S.*, XVII (1927), pp. 141 ff. This view is opposed by Rostovtzeff, *S. E. H. R. E.*, 299 f. (Ital. ed.). We find in Asia none of the probable effects of such a vast addition to the public lands, neither large areas of public lands nor a huge immediate increase in Roman land-holding in case these were sold nor dispossession of the great native families. The lists of public lands in Cicero, *Leg. Agr.*, I, 5; II, 50 include no such territories.

<sup>42</sup> Varro, *R. R.*, I, 17, 2: *lique quos obaeratos nostri vocitarunt et etiam nunc sunt in Asia atque Egypto et in Illyrico complures.*

<sup>43</sup> The principle is later stated by Agennius Urbicus (Thulin, *Agrim. Rom.*, 48), who says that both Roman law and the instructions given to legati required that sacred places should be guarded scrupulously. Cf. the immunity given by Sulla to Amphiaras of Oropus, Bruns, *Fontes*, 180, no. 42. In Asia the Romans restored to Artemis of Ephesus the tolls on the fisheries of which the Attalids had deprived her, Strabo, XIV, 1, 26; sacred lands were restored to Athena of Ilium, *O. G. I. S.*, 440 = *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 194 (c. 89 B. C.). The salt works of Athena Polias of Priene were protected by Julius Caesar's father, *Inscr. v. Priene*, 111, ll. 112 f. (c. 98 B. C.). Zeus of Aezani continued to hold his sacred lands, *O. G. I. S.*, 502 = *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 571, and in *A. M.*, XXIV (1899), 177, no. 27 is mentioned without date the restoration of revenues and land to Dionysus Kathegemon. Note Tac., *Ann.*, III, 61-3 for the general preservation by temples of their privileges. This evidence, all later than 133 B. C., reveals the Roman attitude.

<sup>44</sup> These consisted of some recently confiscated estates (*O. G. I. S.*, 338 = *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 289: *ἐκ τῶν οὐσιῶν τῶν γεγενημένων βασιλικῶν*; cf. Diod., XXXIV, 3; Justin., XXXVI, 4); land in the Chersonese possibly taken over by Attalus II after the Thracian raids (Diod., XXXIII, 14; Strabo, XIII, 4, 2; Cic., *Leg. Agr.*, II, 50); a residence in Tralles, a famous brick structure, which became the residence of the priest of the city (Vitruv., II, 8, 9; Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXV, 172). The status of some land once worked by King Attalus at Priene is uncertain, *Inscr. v. Priene*, 111, ll. 112 f.; cf. *B. C. H.*, XXXI (1907), 387 f.: *ἀ π[ρότερο]ν εἰργάζετο βασιλεὺς Ἀτταλος*. Only the land in the Chersonese is mentioned in Cicero's list in 63 B. C.

<sup>45</sup> Wiegand, *A. M.*, XXIX (1904), 268 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Strabo, XII, 8, 14, the Phrygian marble quarries were not worked extensively before Augustus.

probably also the royal slaves, and sold for the benefit of the treasury.<sup>47</sup> The Roman government was unwilling to continue the commercial and industrial enterprises of the Attalids, wished to reduce the proportions of the province in order to avoid administrative commitments, and cared less for the exploitation of the land than for an effective political and strategic base.<sup>48</sup>

*C. Gracchus and the Lex Sempronia.* This policy was quickly and effectively challenged by Gaius Gracchus, who objected to the loss of the potentially large Phrygian revenues.<sup>49</sup> The region was recovered by 116 B. C. at the latest.<sup>50</sup> His most important measure, however, gave the knights the privilege of farming the taxes of Asia. Contracts were to be let for five-year terms by the censors in Rome and clauses were added to protect the contractors against losses through war and what we should call "acts of God."<sup>51</sup> The chief taxes thus farmed were customs, pasture taxes, and tithes<sup>52</sup> to which the territories of the Greek cities, in violation of the senatorial settlement, were also subjected.<sup>53</sup> Theoretically, such a method of collection would at once

<sup>47</sup> Justin., XXXVI, 4, 8-10: *Perperna. . . Attalicasque gazas hereditarias populi Romani navibus impositis Romam deportavit*; Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXIII, 149: *Tum enim haec (embossed silver vessels) emendi Romae in auctionibus regiis verecundia exempta est*; Varro, *fg.* 58 (Nonius, p. 862L): *ex hereditate Attalica aulaea clamides pellae plagae <vasa> aurea.*

<sup>48</sup> Thus we may cite Aquilius' program of road building, partly for defence (milestone at Tacina, *C. I. L.*, III, 7177 = *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 880), partly to keep up trunk roads (Ephesus-Tralles, *C. I. L.*, III, 479, 7205; Ephesus-Pergamum, *C. I. L.*, III, 7183, 7184; Ephesus-Sardis, *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1659).

<sup>49</sup> Malcovati, *O. R. F.*, II, 137: *Ego ipse qui apud vos verba facio ut vectigalia vestra augeatis.*

<sup>50</sup> Justin., XXXVIII, 5, 3: *cum sibi (Mithridates Eupator) pupillo maiorem Phrygiam ademerant*; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 752 (found near Lysias), fragment of a senatorial decree validating all acts of Mithridates IV up to his death (116 B. C.); cf. Appian, *Mith.*, II, 15; 57: *Φρυγίαν . . . οὐχ ἑαυτῇ συντελεῖν ἐπέταξεν ἐς τοὺς φόρους ἀλλ' αὐτόνομον μεθήκεν*; this stage when Phrygia was non-tributary and autonomous must have lasted only a short time.

<sup>51</sup> Cicero, *Verr.*, II, 3, 12: *ensoria locatio constituta est, ut Asiae lege Sempronia*; cf. Fronto, *Ad Ver.*, 125 (ed. Naber). Cf. Cicero, *Ad Att.*, I, 17, 9, a demand for remission in 61 B. C. The losses were really due to rash bidding, but Plancius claimed losses through a raid, *Schol. Bobb.* (Stangl, 157) on *Planc.*, 31: *pro quantitate damnorum quibus fuerant hostili incursioni vexati.* All *ager publicus* was leased by the censors; this is the apparent meaning of *Leg. Agr.*, II, 55: *vectigalia locare nusquam licet nisi in hac urbe*; cf. II, 50 for the lease of the Attalic lands in the Chersonese by the censors.

<sup>52</sup> *Pro. Leg. Man.*, 15: *neque ex portu neque ex decumis neque ex scriptura*; cf. *Leg. Agr.*, II, 80; *Pro Flacco*, 19. Cf. also Lucilius, 671-2 (Marx): *publicanus vero ut Asiae fiam, ut scripturarius.* . . .

<sup>53</sup> Appian, *B. C.*, V, 4 in an address by Antony to the representatives of the Greek

give the Roman treasury immediate funds and, as Appian expressly states, prove less burdensome to the taxpayers of stipendiary cities, since a payment in kind fluctuated according as the crop was heavy or light. But leasing the contracts in Rome deprived the Asiatic communities of the opportunity of profiting by the example of Sicily and gaining some measure of protection by bidding for the contracts themselves, while the contemporaneous establishment of the equestrian juries in cases of peculation tended to place the proconsul and his staff at the mercy of the tax-collectors whom it was their duty to check.

*The First Mithridatic War 89-84 B. C.* The checks which Rome had imposed upon the expansionist policy of Mithridates of Pontus in Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Pontus, and finally upon his interference in Bithynia<sup>54</sup> made war almost inevitable, but its outbreak was occasioned by the raids into Pontic territory to which Nicomedes was forced by the Roman officers who restored him to his throne and by his creditors among their staff.<sup>55</sup> The speed and ease of Mithridates' occupation of Bithynia and Asia reveal clearly how negligently the Romans were protecting the interests of both themselves and the provincials.<sup>56</sup> It is probable that the richer classes in the Greek cities tended to support Rome. Chaeremon of Nysa, progenitor of the famous family of the Pythodori of Tralles, supplied the Roman army at Apameia with 60,000 modii of wheat.<sup>57</sup> When in 86 B. C. the reaction against Mithridates set in, he chose these leaders in the cities and tribes for punishment while courting the lower classes with radical measures.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand the people, embittered against greedy Roman publicans,

cities: δημοκόπων ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων ἐδέησε φόρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέχεν, οὐ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῖν ἐπεθήκαμεν, ὥς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μέρη φέρειν τῶν ἐκάστοτε καρπῶν ἐπετάξαμεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κοινώσωμεν ὑμῖν. τῶν δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς μισθουμένων.

"The action of popular agitators also among us made these taxes necessary. But when they became necessary we did not impose them upon you according to a fixed valuation so that we could collect an absolutely certain sum, but we required you to contribute a portion of your yearly harvest in order that we might share with you the vicissitudes of the seasons. When the publicans who farmed these collections by the authority of the senate . . ."

<sup>54</sup> Justin., XXXVIII, 2; Plut., *Marius*, 31; *Sulla*, 5; App., *Mith.*, 10; Cass. Dio, *fg.* 99.

<sup>55</sup> App., *Mith.*, 11.

<sup>56</sup> They had only one legion of Roman troops and the raw provincial levy.

<sup>57</sup> *S. I. G.*, 741: ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δώσειν δῶ[ρον ἀλ]εῦρων μοδίους ἑξακισμυρί[ους].

<sup>58</sup> See below, notes 74-76.

grasping Italiote traders and money lenders, and a collusive administration, turned against the Romans with a zeal that was tempered only in some instances by a prudent desire to avoid incriminating themselves too greatly should the Romans win in the future, and obeyed willingly Mithridates' order to slay the Romans, mostly Italiote Greeks, who were among them.<sup>59</sup> Except for a few isolated communities in Asia, which were reduced (Magnesia under Sipylus managed to hold out), resistance continued only in Caria, where there may have been special reasons for favouring Rome. Lycia, Pamphylia, and Rhodes, which withstood a severe siege, were never reduced at all.<sup>60</sup> At first the province suffered little more than the disturbances consequent upon invasion, the departure of the Roman business men and the Roman sympathizers, and the murder of those who stayed. Mithridates appeared conciliatory, setting native troops free,<sup>61</sup> remitting tribute for five years,<sup>62</sup> sharing his claims to the properties of Romans and so presumably to those of the other refugees,<sup>63</sup> and aiding cities, for he gave 100 talents to restore Apameia after an earthquake.<sup>64</sup> He took

<sup>59</sup> App., *Mith.*, 22-23. Besides sharing Roman properties with the cities Mithridates set free slaves who killed their masters and remitted to debtors who killed their Roman creditors half of their debt. Appian describes scenes of murder at Ephesus, Pergamum, Adramyttium, Caunus, and the attempt of Tralles (cf. Cass. Dio, fg. 101) to avoid guilt by hiring Theophilus, a savage Paphlagonian, to do it instead; cf. in Lydia refugees at the lake of Gyges, Pliny, *H. N.*, II, 209; Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, 7. According to Memnon, 31 (*F. H. G.*, III, 542) and Valerius Maximus, 9, 2, ext. 3, 80,000 Roman citizens were slain, but Plut., *Sulla*, 24 says 150,000. App., *l. c.*, says that the motive was hatred of the Romans rather than fear of Mithridates. See below on Roman business men.

<sup>60</sup> Some of Paphlagonia remained unsubdued, App., *Mith.*, 21; Oros., VI, 2; Eutrop., V, 5; Magnesia under Sipylus endured a siege, Paus., I, 20, 5; Plut., *Praso. Ger. Rei Publ.*, 809 c; Livy, *Epit.*, 81; Memnon, 31 (*F. H. G.*, III, 541). Stratoniceia fell after a siege and was fined, App., *Mith.*, 21; *O. G. I. S.*, 441; Tabae resisted, *O. G. I. S.*, 442; Termessus also, *I. L. S.*, 38; and Patara, App., *Mith.*, 27, withstood a siege; Telmessus and other Lycian towns aided Rhodes, *ib.*, 24-27; Cic., *Verr.*, II, 2, 159; and Lucullus later received ships from Pamphylia, *ib.*, 56.

<sup>61</sup> App., *Mith.*, 18.

<sup>62</sup> Justin., XXXVIII, 3: vacationem quinquennii concedit.

<sup>63</sup> App., *Mith.*, 22: τὰ δὲντα αὐτοῖς μερῖσασθαι πρὸς βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην; cf. 47 (letter of Mithridates to Chios): τὰ ἐγκτήματα Ῥωμαίων καρποῦσθε, ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀναφέροντες. "You reap the fruit of the Roman lands in Chios, on which you pay us no percentage."

<sup>64</sup> Strabo, XII, 8, 18: ἔδωκεν ἐπελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἑκατὸν τάλαντα εἰς ἐπαπόρθωσιν. He also enlarged the asylum at Ephesus, Strabo, XIV, 1, 23, conferred benefits upon Tralles (Cic., *Flacc.*, 59: in ornandis studiosiorem Mithridatem quam in spoliandis Trallianis fuisse) which now issued a gold coinage, *B. M. C.*, *Lydia*, cxxxviii; Head, *Hist. Num.*, 660, and deliberately maintained the Mucian games at Smyrna, Cic., *Verr.*, II, 2, 51.

for himself a share in the confiscated Roman properties, some ancestral treasures of the Bithynian kings,<sup>65</sup> and valuable Egyptian treasures from Cos along with 800 talents contributed by Jews for the temple at Jerusalem.<sup>66</sup> We are not told to what groups the 15,000 slaves that he enrolled in his army had belonged.<sup>67</sup> His first defeat in Greece, however, led him to exactions, confiscations of the property of opponents,<sup>68</sup> and other measures necessary to equip a second army against Sulla, while the change of heart induced in many Greek cities by this and by the harsh control of the Mithridatic satraps or tyrants<sup>69</sup> brought upon them and their leaders stern repressive measures. Leaders were killed in Galatia, Pergamum, Adramyttium and other towns;<sup>70</sup> the people of Chios were first fined 2,000 talents and later removed from the island;<sup>71</sup> Galatia revolted, and several cities of Asia—Ephesus, Tralles, Hypaepa, Metropolis(?), Sardis, Smyrna, and Colophon.<sup>72</sup> Some of these were reduced and the province cruelly sacked.<sup>73</sup> Ephesus,<sup>74</sup> in an effort to hold its lower classes, cancelled debts to the city and to Artemis except sums publicly lent on mortgages (on these she remitted the interest), voided all suits except those dealing with boundaries and inheritances, gave citizenship to such tax-equals, residents (of the territory?), sacred attendants, freedmen, and strangers as took up arms, and enrolled public slaves as freedmen and residents

<sup>65</sup> Justin., XXXVIII, 3: multum ibi auri argentique studio veterum regum magnamque belli apparatus invenit, quibus instructus. . . . Since the Attalid treasures were gone, this must refer to the Bithynian royal treasures.

<sup>66</sup> App., *Mith.*, 23; Joseph., *Ant.*, XIV, 7, 2 (112), quoted from Strabo.

<sup>67</sup> Plut., *Sulla*, 18; some enrolled outside of Asia.

<sup>68</sup> App., *Mith.*, 41: troops from Bithynia, Galatia, Phrygia, and the newly acquired territory in his army; 46: he confiscated the goods of all Chians who had fled to Sulla and used the property of the Galatian chiefs whom he put to death.

<sup>69</sup> App., *Mith.*, 21; *S. I. G.*, 741; App., *Mith.*, 48 (Ephesus); Plut., *Luo.*, 3 (Colophon); Strabo, XIV, 1, 42 (Tralles); XIII, 1, 66 (Adramyttium).

<sup>70</sup> App., *Mith.*, 46 (Galatia); the surviving tetrarchs raised the whole region in revolt and expelled him; cf. Plut., *Mul. Virt.*, 259 A-D; App., *Mith.*, 48 (Pergamum), 80 persons; 1600 there and in other cities, cf. 58; Strabo, XIII, 1, 66 (Adramyttium).

<sup>71</sup> *Ib.*, 46-47: the sum was raised but it took temple ornaments and personal jewelry to raise it; according to Memnon, 33 (*F. H. G.*, III, 543), the people of Heracleia Pontica received them and later returned them; cf. App., *Mith.*, 55; Posidonius in *F. H. G.*, III, 265 f.

<sup>72</sup> Combining names in App., *Mith.*, 48 and Orosius, VI, 2, 8.

<sup>73</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, 82: expugnatae in Asia urbes a Mithridate et crudeliter direpta provincia; App., *Mith.*, 48: τὰ ἀφειρηκότα στρατιᾶν ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς λαμβανόμενους ἔδρα.

<sup>74</sup> *S. I. G.*, 742. See below on business life.

upon the same terms;<sup>75</sup> holders of private obligations voluntarily released their debtors. How far other cities followed the example of Ephesus is not told us. Mithridates meanwhile granted cancellation of debts, enrollment of residents as citizens of the cities and emancipation of slaves in the belief that he would thus keep the support of the cities through those whose privileges depended on him.<sup>76</sup> When he realized that he must eventually withdraw, he began methodically to strip the province, its cities, and temples, of public and private funds so far as he could and thus to leave it bare for the Roman victor.<sup>77</sup>

To these evils were added the depredations of Fimbria. There was rioting in Byzantium when he introduced his army there. Nicomedeia, where he murdered his commander Flaccus, was plundered by the soldiery; so too any other cities of Bithynia that resisted him, and money was extorted from the rest.<sup>78</sup> A victory over the son of Mithridates at the Rhyndakos gave him an opportunity to take Cyzicus, condemn two of its leading citizens to death, confiscate their property, and having thus terrorized the city, to take the possessions of the rest.<sup>79</sup> There followed the pillaging of the countryside (a raid into Phrygia)<sup>80</sup> and the sack of Pium<sup>81</sup> with indiscriminate slaughter and burning.

The Peace of Dardanus between Sulla and Mithridates merely restored the territorial status quo ante bellum: Mithridates gave up Asia

<sup>75</sup> *Ib.* II. 44 ff.: εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰσοτελεῖς καὶ παροίκους καὶ ἱεροὺς καὶ ἐξελυθέρους καὶ ξένους δοοὶ ἂν ἀναλάβωσιν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ πρὸς το[ύς] ἡγεμόνας ἀπογράψονται, πάντας πολίτας ἐφ' ἰσῆ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ . . . II. 49 f.: τοὺς δὲ δημοσίους ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ παροίκους, τοὺς ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα. Cf. a somewhat similar 3rd century document from Ephesus, *S. I. G.*, 384; note the mention of special legislation also at Stratoniceia of Caria, *O. G. I. S.*, 441, II. 48-50.

<sup>76</sup> App., *Mith.*, 48: δέισας δὲ περὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἡλευθέρου, καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἐκάστῃ μετοίκους πολίτας αὐτῶν ἐποίει καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐλευθέρους, ἐλπίσας, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ συνηνέχθη, τοὺς κατάχρεως καὶ μετοίκους καὶ θεράποντας, ἡγουμένους ἐν τῇ Μιθριδάτου ἀρχῇ βεβαίως τὰ δοθέντα αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, εὖρους αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι; cf. 58; Justin., XXXVIII, 3: debita civitatibus publica privataque remittit.

<sup>77</sup> App., *Mith.*, 54: τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ ἱερὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ ἴδια τῶν ἀνηρημένων σφετερίσασθαι; cf. 62; 92: ἡγούμενος οὐκ ἐς πολὺ καθέξειν τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ τε ἄλλα . . . πάντα ἐλυμαίνετο. Livy, *Epit.*, 82: crudeliter direpta provincia; Plut., *Sulla*, 24.

<sup>78</sup> Cass. Dio, fg. 104; Memnon, 34 (*F. H. G.*, III, 543); Diodorus, XXXVIII, 8, 2; Front., *Strat.*, III, 17, 5.

<sup>79</sup> Diodor., XXXVIII, 8, 3-4.

<sup>80</sup> *Ib.*; App., *Mith.*, 52-3.

<sup>81</sup> App., *Mith.*, 53: ἐσελθὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶ πάντας ἔκτεινε καὶ πάντα ἐνεπλήμνη . . . ὅτε τῶν ἱερῶν φειδόμενος οὐτε τῶν ἐς τὸν νεῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καταφυγόντων οὐς αὐτῷ νεῶν κατέπρησεν· κατέσκαπτε δὲ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη. Cf. Strabo, XIII, 1, 27; Livy, *Epit.*, 83; Cass. Dio, fg. 104; Oros., VI, 2, 11.

and Paphlagonia, restored Bithynia to Nicomedes and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, paid the Romans 2,000 talents and gave them 70 bronze armoured ships with proper equipment, while Sulla was to confirm him in his own dominions and have him voted a Roman ally.<sup>82</sup> And so he was not compelled to restore what he had taken from the Roman province, to which Sulla, quickly despatching Fimbria, now came to reorganize, reward, and punish. Thus ended a struggle that had caused much material damage, left the province with greatly reduced reserves of wealth and cost perhaps as many as 300,000 lives.<sup>83</sup>

### *The Sullan Settlement.*

Appian, *Mith.*, 61: καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας, οἷς ἐλευθερίαν ἰδεδώκει Μιθριδάτης, ἐκήρυττεν αὐτίκα ἐς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐπανίεσαι. πολλῶν δὲ ἀπειθούντων καὶ πόλεων τινῶν ἀφισταμένων, ἐγίνοντο σφαγαὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ θεραπόντων ἐπὶ ποικίλαις προφάσεσι, τείχη τε πολλῶν καθηρέϊτο, καὶ συχνὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡνδραποδίζετο καὶ διηρπάζετο. οἷτε Καππαδοκίσαντες ἄνδρες ἢ πόλεις ἐκολάζοντο πικρῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν Ἐφέσιοι.

"He issued a proclamation that the slaves who had been freed by Mithridates should at once return to their masters. As many disobeyed and some of the cities revolted, numerous massacres ensued, of both free men and slaves, on various pretexts. The walls of many towns were demolished. Many others were plundered and their inhabitants sold into slavery. The Cappadocian faction, both men and cities, were severely punished and especially the Ephesians."<sup>84</sup> Thus Sulla punished the partizans of Mithridates and by annulling his radical measures reestablished the group that had tended to favour Rome.

According to Appian<sup>85</sup> Sulla bestowed freedom on Ilium, Chios, Lycia, Rhodes, Magnesia and some others and inscribed them as friends

<sup>82</sup> Plut., *Sulla*, 22: Μιθριδάτην μὲν Ἀσίαν ἀφεῖναι καὶ Παφλαγονίαν, ἐκστῆναι δὲ Βιθυνίας, Νικομήδει καὶ Καππαδοκίας Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ, καταβαλεῖν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δισχιλία τάλαντα καὶ δοῦναι ναῦς ἐβδομήκοντα χαλκήρεϊς μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας παρασκευῆς, Σόλλαν δὲ ἐκείνῳ τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀρχὴν βεβαιοῦν καὶ σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίων ψηφίσθαι. Cf. App., *Mith.*, 55; Memnon, 35 (*F. H. G.*, III, 543) who says 3,000 talents and adds the unlikely stipulation that the Romans should harbour no grudge against the cities for their disloyalty; Licinianus, p. 34 f. (Bonn ed.); Vell. Pat., II, 23, 6.

<sup>83</sup> App., *Mith.*, 58; *B. C.*, I, 76: 160,000 on Mithridates' side alone; add 80,000 in the massacre besides Roman and native losses in battle, in the course of the revolt, through the ravages of Fimbria, and in the scattered revolts at Sulla's settlement.

<sup>84</sup> Licinianus, p. 35: Ephesi causis cognitis principes belli securibus necat. These were not necessarily Ephesians.

<sup>85</sup> App., *Mith.*, 61: Ἰλίας μὲν καὶ Χίους καὶ Λυκίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Μαγνησίαν καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους . . . ἐλευθέρους ἡφείλει καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέγραφε φίλους.



of the Roman people. But of these Rhodes was a federate ally before and Ilium, Chios, and the Lycian League had been free; their privileges, however, were freshly confirmed. Among the other cities Stratoniceia, Tabae, and Termessus (somewhat later) became free allies,<sup>86</sup> while Apollonis, which had suffered at Mithridates' hands, and possibly Ephesus, were confirmed in their autonomy.<sup>87</sup> Ilium needed and received special aid<sup>88</sup> and Rhodes was given Caunus and some islands.<sup>89</sup>

Sulla then billeted his army upon the remaining towns (App., *Mith.*, 61) as a private penalty. Families were ruined by the soldiers quartered upon them since each host had to give his guest 16 drachmae per day and furnish him and his friends with food; each military tribune was to receive 50 drachmae per day and two suits of clothing.<sup>90</sup> Since Sulla had about 40,000 men in Asia<sup>91</sup> with a full complement of officers for 8 legions, a six-month billeting would have cost their hosts no less than 120,000,000 drachmae besides the cost of food, lodging

<sup>86</sup> *S. I. G.*<sup>2</sup>, 785 = *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 943 (Chios): δόγμα[τος] συγκλήτου ἀντισ[φρ]άγισμα (80 B. C.) ἐν ᾧ . . . ἡ σύν[κλη]τος εἰδικῶς ἐβεβαίωσεν ὅπως νόμοις τε καὶ ἔθεσιν καὶ δικαίοις [χρῶν]ται ἀ ἔσχον ὅτε τῇ 'Ρωμαίων (φι)λίᾳ προσῆλθον ἵνα τε ὑπὸ μηθ' ᾧτινι[οῦν] τύπῃ ὥσιν ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀνταρχόντων, οἷτε παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντες 'Ρω[μαί]οι τοῖς Χείων ὑπακούωσιν νόμοις; *O. I. L.*, I, 2 (ed. 2), 725 (Lycia): Δυκίων τὸ κοινὸν κωμισάμενον τὴν πάτριον δημοκρατίαν; cf. 726; Strabo, XIII, 3, 5 (Magnesia): ἐλεύθερα πόλις ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων περικυμένη; *O. G. I. S.*, 441 (Stratoniceia): παρὰ δήμου . . . φίλου συμμάχου [τε ἡμ]ετέρου. The city was confirmed in the use of its own laws and customs and given some additional territory, Pegasus, Themessus, Ceramus (with villages, harbours, and revenues), while the sanctuary of Hecate received confirmation of its right of asylum; *I. G. R. P.*, I, 63 (Tabae): φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος 'Ρω[μαί]ων; cf. *O. G. I. S.*, 442; they also received territory, free use of their own laws and customs, and the right to fortify a place called Thyessus; Bruns, *Fontes*<sup>7</sup>, no. 14 = *I. L. S.*, 38 (Termessus Maior): leiberi amicei societique populi Romani sunt. This law was not passed until after 72 when Murena and Servilius Isauricus had pacified Western Pisidia and Pamphylia.

<sup>87</sup> Cic., *Placc.*, 70-71 (Apollonis): in libera civitate . . . miseriores habes quam aut Mithridates; *O. I. L.*, I, 2 (ed. 2), 728 (Laodiceia) = *I. L. S.*, 33; Strabo, XII, 8, 16: harmed by Mithridates, received some benefit from Rome; *O. I. L.*, I, 2 (ed. 2), 727 (Ephesus) = *I. L. S.*, 34: ο[β]τινuit maiorum] souom leibertatem. . . .

<sup>88</sup> Strabo, XIII, 1, 27: τοὺς δ' Ἰλίας παρεμυθήσατο πολλοῖς ἐπανορθώμασι.

<sup>89</sup> Cic., *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 33: Caunii nuper omnesque ex insulis quae erant a Sulla Rhodiis attributae; cf. Strabo, XIV, 2, 3.

<sup>90</sup> Plut., *Sulla*, 25: ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοῖς οἴκοις ἐξέτριψεν ὕβρει καὶ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν ἐπισταθμευόντων. ἐπὶ ταῖς γὰρ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τῷ καταλύτῃ τὸν ξένον διδόναι τέσσαρα τετράδραχμα καὶ πεντήκοντα δὲ δίδοναι αὐτῷ καὶ φίλοις, ὅσους ἂν ἐθέλῃ καλεῖν, ταξίάρχον δὲ πεντήκοντα δράχμας καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν ἡμέρας, ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἄλλην μὲν οἰκουρῶν, ἄλλην δὲ εἰς ἀγορὰν προερχόμενος. According to Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 56 Smyrna later took credit, with Sulla as witness, for a voluntary contribution of clothing to his soldiers who were distressed by the winter climate.

<sup>91</sup> App., *B. C.*, I, 79.

and clothing. Finally he levied as a public penalty a war indemnity of 20,000 talents, the amount, according to Appian, of the five years' tribute in arrears, the cost of the war to Sulla, and the expense of reorganizing the province.<sup>92</sup> How the indemnity was raised by the impoverished provincials we learn from Appian (*Mith.*, 63): αἱ πόλεις ἀποροῦσαι τε καὶ δανειζόμεναι μεγάλων τόκων, αἱ μὲν τὰ θέατρα τοῖς δανείζουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια ἢ τείχος ἢ λιμένας ἢ εἴ τι δημόσιον ἄλλο, σὺν ὕβρει στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων, ὑπετίθεντο.

"The cities, oppressed by poverty, borrowed it at high rates of interest and mortgaged their theaters, their gymnasiums, their walls, their harbours, and every other scrap of public property, being urged on by the soldiers with contumely."

Precisely from whom the money was borrowed remains uncertain. Local sources must have been impoverished except perhaps some rich Roman partisans like the family of Chaeremon; and Roman bankers and knights, who were probably not yet greatly interested in Asian investments, were unlikely in any case to supply the money needed by their enemy Sulla.<sup>93</sup> Possibly much was supplied by Italiote Greeks crowding in again, relying on Roman arms to protect them and eager to profit by the high interest rates allowed by the insecurity of Asia and the present need of the provincials, but some Roman money must have been involved as Plutarch (*Luc.*, 7 and 20) mentions Roman money lenders sufficiently influential to rouse the Roman popular politicians against Lucullus in 70 B. C. on account of his reforms.

To facilitate the levy Sulla reorganized the province into 44 districts making each responsible for a fixed proportion of the whole sum, which Lucullus was to collect and coin.<sup>94</sup> These districts, which apparently were equivalent neither to city territories nor to the judicial assize districts or *διοικησεις*, remained the basis of the later financial organization of Asia.<sup>95</sup> He probably did not deprive the publicans of the right to collect the tithe (the levy was collected directly); in any

<sup>92</sup> Plut., *Sulla*, 25: κοινῇ μὲν ἐξημίωσε τὴν Ἀσίαν δις μυρία ταλάντοις; App., *Mith.*, 62: μόνους ὑμῖν ἐπιγράφω πέντε ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσσευγεῖν αὐτίκα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, ὅση τε γέγονέ μοι καὶ ἔσται καθισταμένη τὰ ὑπόλοιπα; cf. Plut., *Luc.*, 20; and on the honesty and mildness of Lucullus in collecting it, *Luc.*, 4; on the resulting hardships see Chapter II, note 57.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Vol. I, 342.

<sup>94</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 4: τὰ τε χρήματα ταῦτα πράξει καὶ νόμισμα κόψει; Babelon, I, 408-9; Grueber, 357, note 1.

<sup>95</sup> Cassiod., *Chr.*, 670: His consulibus Asiam in XLIV regiones Sulla distribuit (84 B. C.); App., *Mith.*, 62: διαίρησω δὲ ταῦθ' ἐκάστοις ἐγὼ κατὰ πόλεις; Cic., *Flacc.*, 32: Discripsit autem pecuniam ad Pompei rationem, quae fuit accommodata L. Sullae discriptioni. Qui cum in omnis Asiae civitates pro portione pecuniam discripsisset . . . ; Quint. *Frat.*, I, 1, 33: vectigal . . . quod iis aequaliter Sulla discriperat; Verr., II, 1, 89; Chapot, *Prov. Rom. Proc.*, 89-95.

case it was soon restored them.<sup>96</sup> Sulla sailed home leaving Lucullus and Murena to administer the debt-burdened province under the doubtful protection of Fimbria's legions, without defence against the pirates, and with its southern border and the province of Cilicia still in confusion.

*Cilicia and the Pirates.* Piracy and brigandage, endemic in the Taurus region<sup>97</sup> of Asia Minor, became an increasingly annoying problem during the second century, as the commercial powers interested in checking it, Syria, Egypt, and Rhodes, grew weaker<sup>98</sup> and more antagonistic until by the end of the century it had become almost a scourge. Rome, which was not commercially minded, did nothing and the Italian merchants of Delos in an unholy partnership with the pirates shared in the profits of the slave trade supplied by their captives.<sup>99</sup> The expedition<sup>100</sup> of M. Antonius in 102 won him a triumph

<sup>96</sup> Cic., *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 33: *nomen autem publicani aspernari non possunt, qui pendere ipsi vectigal sine publicano non potuerint quod iis aequaliter Sulla discripserat.* Since it is apparent from App., *Mith.*, 63 and Plut., *Luc.*, 4 that Sulla collected the indemnity directly, this passage means only that even within the framework of his organization the communities could not dispense with the aid of the publicans (I take *vectigal* to mean not Sulla's indemnity but the regular tithe). The reason probably was the difficulty of marketing, delivering, or procuring cash for the produce. What agricultural community with little cash could dispense with middlemen? That the publicans continued to operate under the Sempronian Law in itself implies that their operations were never suspended (*Verr.*, II, 3, 12; *Pro Plancio*, 24; *Sch. Bobb.* [Stangl, 155]).

<sup>97</sup> Strabo, XIV, 5, 6: *εὐφυοῦς γὰρ ὁντος τοῦ τόπου (Cilicia Tracheia) πρὸς τὰ ληστήρια καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν (κατὰ γῆν μὲν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων ἔθνων, πεδία καὶ γεώργια ἐχόντων μεγάλα καὶ εὐκατατρόχαστα, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τε ναυπηγησίμου ὕλης καὶ τῶν λιμένων καὶ ἐρυμάτων καὶ ὑποδυτηρίων)*; cf. XIV, 3, 2; App., *Mith.*, 92. For descriptions of the Isaurian and Cilician regions see Ramsay, *H. G.*, 361 ff.; Schaffer, *Petermanns Mitt.*, Erg.-Heft, 141 (1903); *M. A. M. A.*, III, 1 ff.; Ormerod, *Piracy in the Anc. World*, 191 ff.

<sup>98</sup> Strabo, XIV, 5, 2.

<sup>99</sup> Strabo, XIV, 5, 2: *ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἐξαγωγή προῦκαλεῖτο μάλιστα εἰς τὰς κακουργίας, ἐπικερδестаτή γενομένη: καὶ γὰρ ἡλίσκοντο ῥαδίως, καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον οὐ παντελῶς ἄπωθεν ἦν μέγα καὶ πολυχρήματον, ἡ δὲ ἡλός, δυναμένη μυριάδας ἀνδραπόδων αὐθημερόν καὶ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀποπέμψαι, ὥστε καὶ παροιμίαν γενέσθαι διὰ τοῦτο· ἔμπορε, κατὰπλευσον, ἐξελαῶ, πάντα πέπραται. αἴτιον δ', ὅτι πλούσιοι γινόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τὴν Καρχηδόνας καὶ Κορίνθου κατασκαφὴν οἰκετεῖαις ἐχρῶντο πολλαῖς· ὁρῶντες δὲ τὴν εὐπέτειαν οἱ λησταὶ ταύτην ἐξήρθησαν ἀθρόως, αὐτοὶ καὶ ληϊζόμενοι καὶ σωματεμποροῦντες. One can reject this optimistic estimate of the facilities of the harbour and market of Delos without questioning the soundness of the rest of Strabo's information. On the pirates' use of the Pamphylian ports, especially Side, see Strabo, XIV, 3, 2: *ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὁρμητηρίοις ἐχρῆσαντο τοῖς τόποις πρὸς τὰ ληστήρια, αὐτοὶ πειρατεύοντες ἢ τοῖς πειραταῖς λαφυροπώλια καὶ καίσαθμα παρέχοντες: ἐν Σίδῃ γοῦν πόλει τῆς Παμφυλίας τὰ ναυπήγια συνίστατο τοῖς ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΣ, ὑπὸ κήρυκά τε ἐπώλουν ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἀλόντας ἐλευθέρους ὁμολογοῦντες.* One may be*

but apparently did little to suppress piracy in spite of the cooperation of the Rhodians and the Lycians. It does, however, mark the beginning of a province of Cilicia, sometimes called Pamphylia,<sup>101</sup> of which Sulla was governor in 92 and Oppius in 88. No more effective was the law passed in 100 B. C., at the request of the Rhodians, calling on all allied cities and nations to refuse the pirates admission to their harbours "in order that Roman citizens and Italian allies may carry on their business safely in the cities and islands of the East."<sup>102</sup> On the contrary the pirates were merely driven to be allies of Mithridates, under whose patronage they extended their operations and organization enormously.<sup>103</sup>

Being left unhindered upon Sulla's return to Rome, they attacked islands and cities, besieging and capturing as many as 400;<sup>104</sup> built

skeptical of the good character which he gives the Lycians, cf. Ormerod, *J. R. S.*, XII (1922), 36; also Strabo, XII, 7, 2 and XIV, 5, 10. On freemen sold as slaves to Sicily see Diodor., XXXVI, 3.

<sup>100</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, 68: M. Antonius praetor in Ciliciam maritimos praedones persecutus est; Cic., *De Oratore*, I, 82; *C. I. L.*, I, 2 (ed. 2), 2662: profectus Sidam; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1116 (Rhodes); *T. A. M.*, II, 1, 264, 265 (Xanthus) but these may refer to the campaign of Servilius Isauricus.

<sup>101</sup> *Aut. de Viris Illustr.*, 75: praetor Ciliciam provinciam habuit; App., *Mith.*, 57; *B. C.*, I, 77 (Sulla); App., *Mith.*, 17; 20; Athen., V, 213a: στρατηγὸς Παμφυλίας; Lelcianus, p. 35; Livy, *Epit.*, 78 (Oppius); Cic., *Verr.*, II, 1, 44; 73 (Dolabella). The regions included within the province are uncertain. At first Roman authority was effective only on a small bit of coast. The boundaries of Oppius' province are unknown. Verres committed depredations in Milyas, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Phrygia (*Verr.*, II, 1, 95), but of these regions Lycia was free and Phrygia lay in Asia, *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 701 (Lucullus proquaestor) = *M. A. M. A.*, IV, 52; *Verr.*, II, 1, 76; Laodiceia was in Asia. Isauricus added eastern Lycia, and some at least of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Isauria came then under effective control; but the Cilicias, Tracheia and Pedias, apparently came in only after Pompey's victory; cf. Ormerod, *C. A. H.*, IX, 355, and opposed to him Ramsay, *J. H. S.*, XLVIII (1928), 46 ff.; *Klio*, XXII (1924), 381.

<sup>102</sup> *S. B. G.*, III, 378: ὅπως πολῖται Ῥωμαίων σ[ύμμαχοι] τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας Λατῖνοι τὰ τ[ε] αὐτῶν ὄσων ἀν χρεία ᾗ, κατὰ τὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ πόλεις καὶ νήσους πρᾶσσωσιν ἀκίνδυνοι καὶ κατὰ θ[ε]άλασσαν ἀσφαλῶς πλεῖν δύνω[νται]; and to send letters to the kings in alliance with Rome φροντίσαι, μὴ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτ[ῶν] μήτε τῇ[ς] χώρας ἢ ὁρίων πειρατῇ[ς] μηδεὶς ὁρμήσῃ . . .].

<sup>103</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 24: φρόνημα καὶ τόλμαν ἔσχεν ἐν τῷ Μιθριδατικῷ πολέμῳ, χρησάσα ταις βασιλικαῖς ὑπηρεσίαις αὐτήν; App., *Mith.*, 63; 92.

<sup>104</sup> *Id.*: οὐκέτι τοῖς πλείουσι μόνον ἐπιτιθεμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ νήσους καὶ πόλεις παραλίους ἐκκόπτοντας . . . πόλεων αἰχμαλώτων ἀπολυτρώσεις . . . αἱ δὲ ἀλοῦσαι πόλεις ὑπ' αὐτῶν τετρακοσῖαι; cf. App., *Mith.*, 92; 63: capture of Iasos, Samos, Glazomenae, and Samothrace, the last at least in 84 B. C.; Cicero, *Pro Leg. Man.*, 33 adds Cnidus and Colophon to the list; cf. Vol. I, 301-4. A decree of Ephesus, 84 B. C. (?), honours the Astypalacans for defending the Ephesian village of Phygela and the shrine of

fortified roadsteads and signal stations,<sup>105</sup> carried off wealthy citizens for ransom, treating Romans with special insolence,<sup>106</sup> pillaged famous and wealthy shrines like Claros, Didyma, Samothrace and the Heraeum of Samos,<sup>107</sup> made their own accumulations of shipbuilding materials, timber, brass, and iron, kept skilled artisans chained to their tasks, and gathered huge fleets of good vessels, skilful pilots and sturdy crews.<sup>108</sup> Their wealth led to extravagant display;<sup>109</sup> their power eventually made the Mediterranean unnavigable and closed to commerce.<sup>110</sup>

Their strength was increased not only by the severity of the Mithridatic wars (for they also appeared in the Black Sea and the Marmora and aided Mithridates as actively in the third war as in the first),<sup>111</sup> which drove to them masses of men of Syrian, Cyprian, Pamphylian, and Pontic origin, and by the results of the exactions in Asia of Sulla and the publicans and money lenders who followed him, which drove many penniless people to choose piracy rather than slavery, but even by the addition of men of wealth and ability who saw in piracy a road

Artemis Munichia against a pirate raid, *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1029; the troops sent from Poemanenum to defend Illium in 80-79 B. C. probably came against pirates, *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 196 = *O. G. I. S.*, 443.

<sup>105</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 24: ἡν δὲ καὶ ναύσταθμα πολλαχόθι πειρατικὰ καὶ φρυκτώρια τεταχισμένα.

<sup>106</sup> App., *Mith.*, 92: τοὺς ἀνδρας, οἷς τι πλέον εἴη, ἐς ναυλοχίαν ἐπὶ λύτροις ἀπῆγον; Plut., *Pomp.*, 24: σωμάτων ἡγεμονικῶν ἀρπαγαί; on captures of noble Romans see Plut., *id.*, describing the pirates' method of sending them home over the water; Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, 33; on Caesar's capture and revenge, Suet., *Jul.*, 4, 1; Plut., *Oes.*, 2; Vell. Pat., II, 41-42. The pirates demanded 20 talents, which Caesar raised to 50; it was paid by cities of Asia with the special help of Epicrates of Miletus, Polyaeen., VIII, 23, 1.

<sup>107</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 24 lists these along with several others in Greece and Italy; cf. App., *Mith.*, 63: 1,000 talents in 84 B. C. from Samothrace.

<sup>108</sup> App., *Mith.*, 92: χειροτέχνας τε εἶχαν ἐπ' ἔργοις δεδεμένους καὶ ὕλην ξύλον καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου συμφέροντες οὐποτε ἐπαύοντο . . . ναῦς τε καὶ ὄπλα πάντα ἐτεκταίνοντο; Plut., *Pomp.*, 24: στόλοι προσέπιπτον οὐ πληρωμάτων μόνον εὐανδρίαις οὐδὲ τέχναις κυβερνητῶν οὐδὲ τάχεσι νέων καὶ κουφότησιν ἐξεσκημένοι πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον; cf. App., *Mith.*, 96 on the plunder Pompey captured: arms, some completed, some in the workshops; ships, some on the stocks, some afloat; brass, iron, sailcloth, rope, and timber. Note *id.*, 92 for the change from light craft, *myoparones* and *hemiolioi*, to *biremes* and *triremes*.

<sup>109</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 24: gilded sails, purple awnings, silvered oars, flutes, stringed instruments, and drinking bouts along every coast.

<sup>110</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 25: ἐπεναίματο δὲ ἡ δύναμις αὐτῇ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τι τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσαν, ὥστε ἀπλουν καὶ ἄβατον ἐμπορίᾳ πάσῃ γένεσθαι.

<sup>111</sup> Plut., *Luo.*, 12; cf. Florus, I, 41. For the escape of Mithridates on a pirate ship, 73 B. C., App., *Mith.*, 78; Plut., *Luo.*, 13; Oros., VI, 2, 24. A garrison of Cilicians in Sinope, Plut., *Luo.*, 23.

to distinction.<sup>112</sup> The situation thus developed until it became worst during the third Mithridatic war.

In the meantime, however, Sulla had not completely forgotten. Murena in collecting a fleet and occupying Cibra<sup>113</sup> was probably preparing for the double action both by land and by sea necessary to end the menace. But no more was done until in 77-74 B. C.<sup>114</sup> Servilius Isauricus first destroyed the kingdom of Zenicetes and made both his territory of Olympus and Attaleia of Pamphylia public land of Rome, collecting rich plunder besides.<sup>115</sup> Then crossing the Taurus, probably from the region of Side, he captured the two Isauras, and confiscated some lands from the Orondeis, perhaps also some from the Homonadeis.<sup>116</sup> Taking the lands on the coast probably made matters worse for a needy people, and so when the advantage won by these successes which prepared the ground for a joint attack by land and sea on Cilicia Tracheia itself was lost by an incompetent admiral, M. Anto-

<sup>112</sup> App., *Mith.*, 92: οἱ γὰρ βίον καὶ πατρίδων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀφρημένοι, καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν ἐμπεσόντες ἄνθρωποι, ἀντὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκαρποῦντο τὴν θάλασσαν . . . ἀρξαμένοι μὲν Ἰσως τοῦ κακοῦ παρὰ τῶν Τραχεωτῶν Κιλικῶν, συνεπιλαβόντων δὲ Ζύρων τε καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ τῶν Πορτικῶν καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐφ' ὧν ἐθνῶν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ χρόνιου σφίσι ἐντος τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου δρᾶν τι μᾶλλον ἢ πάσχειν αἰρούμενοι, τὴν θάλασσαν ἀντὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπελέγοντο; Plut., *Pomp.*, 24: ἤδη δὲ καὶ χρήμασι δυνατοὶ καὶ γόνεσι λαμπροὶ καὶ τὸ φροεῖν ἀξιούμενοι διαφέρειν ἄνδρες ἐνέβαινον εἰς τὰ ληστρικὰ καὶ μετεῖχον, ὥς καὶ δόξαν τινὰ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἔργου φέροντος. On the Sullan exactions Plut., *Luc.*, 4 and 20. Of their leaders we know Zenicetes of Olympus (see below), and Carapanus, *Dodona*, p. 107, XXXVI, no. 8: King Isidorus (Florus, I, 41; Plut., *Luc.*, 12), Athenio (Cass. Dio, fig. 93, 4), Seleucus (App., *Mith.*, 78; Plut., *Luc.*, 13; Oros., VI, 2, 24; 3, 2), Athenodorus who raided Delos in 69 B. C. (Phlegon, *F. H. G.*, III, 606), Nico (Cic., *Verr.*, II, 5, 79), and princes of Cilicia Tracheia (Strabo, XIV, 5, 10).

<sup>113</sup> Cic., *Verr.*, II, 1, 90: in ea classe quae contra piratas aedificata sit. Miletus had contributed 10 ships, *ib.*, 89; *Pro Flacco*, 30. Cibra was thus added to Asia in 84 B. C., but the other cities in the Tetrapolis, Bubo, Balbura, and probably also Oenoanda, were added to Lycia, Strabo, XIII, 4, 17.

<sup>114</sup> The depredations of Verres as quaestor in Cilicia probably made matters worse, *Verr.*, II, 1, 56. At any rate the cities which had been loyal in the first Mithridatic war became pirate harbours before the third, e. g. Side.

<sup>115</sup> Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, I, 5: agros Attalensium et Olympenorum; II, 50; *Verr.*, II, 1, 56; II, 4, 21; Strabo, XIV, 5, 7; Florus, I, 41; Oros., V, 23; Eutrop., VI, 3; Sallust, *Hist.*, figg. I, 127-132 (Maurenbrecher); Ps-Ascon. on *Verr.*, II, 1, 56 (Stangl, II, 237). Florus, I, 41: diutina praeda abundantes; *Verr.*, II, 1, 56: signa atque ornamenta capta.

<sup>116</sup> On the military operations see Ormerod, *C. A. H.*, IX, 354 f.; Sallust, *Hist.*, II, 87 (Maurenbrecher); Front., *Strat.*, III, 7, 1; Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, II, 50: agrum Agerensem et Oroandicum et Gedusanum. For the Orondeis, Agerensem = Ateniensem, Gedusanum = Sedasanum, cf. Ormerod, *U. cit.*

nius Creticus, during the disturbances of the third Mithridatic war, the situation rapidly degenerated to what we have described above.

At last the knights interested in Asiatic commerce and investments combined with the popular party to secure the passage of the Gabinian law and the appointment of Pompey with adequate authority and supplies and the right to requisition what he needed from Roman allies.<sup>117</sup> He collected ships in Asia as Murena had done before him, perhaps also made use of available stores of precious metal.<sup>118</sup> First driving the pirate fleets back upon their Cilician bases he won Cragus and Anticragus, then defeated their fleet, and besieged their chief fortress of Coracesium. There followed the surrender of their cities, forts, and mountain citadels with vast stores of materials and a multitude of their captives.<sup>119</sup> He carried away their fleet, capturing in all 846 ships (according to Appian 71 ships were captured, 306 surrendered) and took 120 towns, forts and other bases, making captive about 20,000 pirates; about 10,000 had fallen in battle.<sup>120</sup>

Pompey's settlement reveals a statesmanlike realization that poverty and lack of opportunity had been the chief contributing causes of piracy. He settled some into small and half-deserted cities of Cilicia, to which he gave additional territory, Mallus, Adana, Epiphaneia, and others, and restored Soli, which was renamed Pompeiopolis, thus at once rehabilitating the men and reviving Cilicia Pedias after the recent depredations of Tigranes of Armenia.<sup>121</sup> Some were sent to Dyme of Achaëa, some, too, perhaps to marginal land near Tarentum.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Vol. I, 304.

<sup>118</sup> Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 32: In numero navium et in discriptione aequabili sumptus? Dimidium eius, quo Pompeius erat usus, imperavit . . . illam rationem (Sulla's) in imperando sumptu et Pompeius et Flaccus secutus est. The apparent cessation of the cistophoric coinage in the Asiatic cities at this time may be due to Pompey's requisitions, if not to measures passed at Rome to save funds, cf. *A.J.A.*, XLI (1937), 248 f.

<sup>119</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 28; App., *Mith.*, 96. The captives were of course returned to their homes.

<sup>120</sup> App., *Mith.*, 96; Plut., *Pomp.*, 28; in 24 Plutarch says there were more than 1,000 ships, Strabo, XIV, 3, 3 that Pompey burned more than 1,300; Pliny, *H.N.*, VII, 93 says 846, and perhaps got his information from the official records of Pompey's triumph.

<sup>121</sup> App., *Mith.*, 96; 115; Plut., *Pomp.*, 28; Vell. Pat., II, 32: reliquias eorum contractas in urbibus remotoque mari loco in certa sede constituit . . . data facultate sine rapto vivendi rapinis arcuit.

<sup>122</sup> Strabo, XIV, 3, 3; 5, 8; VIII, 7, 5; Servius on *Georg.*, IV, 127: Pompeius enim victis piratis Cilicibus partim ibidem in Graecia, partim in Calabria agros dedit.

With Pompey's success organized piracy ended, not to revive until the late Empire, but Pompey provided for the maintenance of a supply of ships and a system of patrols by maritime cities. Flaccus' abuse of this system led Quintus Cicero when governor of Asia in 61 to discontinue it in spite of the recent murder by pirates of a leading citizen of Adramyttium.<sup>123</sup> The civil wars permitted some fresh outbreaks. Caesar says that the forces of Achilles in Alexandria consisted "of pirates and brigands from the provinces of Cilicia, Syria and the neighboring regions."<sup>124</sup> The Dymeans, driven from their land, had in 44 B. C. reverted to piracy again.<sup>125</sup> Many of Sextus Pompey's men were pirates, and it is quite possible that others of his followers besides the freedmen of his father who were his lieutenants had once been pirates of Cilicia.<sup>126</sup> The piracy and brigandage still existent in Cilicia Tracheia led Augustus and several emperors after him to place it under kings.<sup>127</sup>

Regarding brigandage notices are few. The inland Taurus was as disturbed as the sea coast. "The Isaurians were all settlements of robbers," says Strabo, and in another passage, "nor do the Pamphylians wholly abstain from the business of piracy or allow the peoples on their borders to live in peace," and in a third, "the Pisidians, like the Cilicians, are trained in piracy."<sup>128</sup> Servilius Isauricus brought temporary peace but the third Mithridatic war aroused trouble again.<sup>129</sup> Cicero, however, in 51, in haste to reach his army near Iconium, was willing to enter his province at Side to suit Appius' convenience, so the mountains must have been fairly safe.<sup>130</sup> He mentions serious outbreaks of brigandage, the death of a robber chieftain Moeragenes, and

<sup>123</sup> Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 27-33. For piracy in Syria in 55 B. C. Cass. Dio, XXXIX, 59, 1.

<sup>124</sup> *Bell. Civ.*, III, 110, 3.

<sup>125</sup> Cic., *Att.*, XVI, 1, 3: Dymaeos agro pulsos mare infestum habere nil mirum.

<sup>126</sup> Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, 250 ff.; Cass. Dio, XLVIII, 17: τοὺς τε καταποντιστὰς προσηταιρίζετο; on Menas and Menerates, Vell. Pat., II, 73: paternos libertos; cf. App., *B. C.*, V, 79; 83 (Demochares); 84 (Apollonophanes).

The war with Sextus was regarded as a pirate war, Ormerod, *l. c.*

<sup>127</sup> Strabo, XIV, 5, 6; cf. XII, 1, 4.

<sup>128</sup> Strabo, XII, 6, 2: ληστῶν δ' ἀπασαι κατοικίαι; XII, 7, 2: οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι . . . σὺ τελέως ἀφείνται τῶν ληστρικῶν ἔργων, οὐδὲ τοὺς ὁμόρους ἕωςι καθ' ἡσυχίαν ζῆν; 7, 3: τῶν δ' οὖν δρεινῶν, οὓς εἶπον, Πισιδῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι . . . ληστρικῶς ἡσκηναί.

<sup>129</sup> Note App., *Mith.*, 75 on the expedition of Mithridates' general Eumachus in Phrygia, Isauria, and Cilicia; Deiotarus of Galatia drove him away.

<sup>130</sup> *Ad Fam.*, III, 5, 4; 6, 1; Hunter, *J. R. S.*, III (1913), 73 f.



the delay of letters through precautions against brigands.<sup>131</sup> Strabo calls Antipater of Derbe a brigand, but he is known also as a friend of Cicero and benefactor of Temenothyrae of Moccadene in Lydia.<sup>132</sup> The civil wars gave further opportunity; the slayer of Antipater, Amyntas of Galatia, lost his life fighting the robber tribes of Isauria and Pisidia,<sup>133</sup> who were not fully subdued until the war of Quirinius against the Homanadeis and the foundation of the Augustan colonies in Pisidia.<sup>134</sup> In Asia and Bithynia similar conditions prevailed in mountainous regions, especially in the Mysian highlands about Mount Olympus. Cicero congratulates his brother for suppressing brigandage in Mysia.<sup>135</sup> Under Antony and Octavian there flourished in the Mysian and Bithynian Olympus the notorious brigand chieftain Cleon of Gordiou Kome, whose support of Antony against the Parthians, and whose later allegiance to Octavian, won him first the principality of Mysia Abrette, and later the priesthood of Comana of Pontus. He renamed Gordiou Kome, his capital, Juliopolis in honour of Augustus, but used as bases other mountain strongholds also.<sup>136</sup> As we shall see, the wilder regions of Asia Minor always required special police, but after 67 B. C., except for a short period during the civil wars and the Parthian invasion, there was no serious interference by piracy or brigandage with the main lines of commerce and communications.

*The Second and Third Mithridatic Wars.* The so-called second Mithridatic war consisted only of the raiding expeditions of Murena<sup>137</sup>

<sup>131</sup> *Att.*, VI, 4, 1: magna in Cilicia latrocinia; V, 15, 3: will fight Moeragenes for possession of a slave of Atticus; VI, 1, 13; *Ad Fam.*, II, 9, 1: propter latrocinia tardissime omnia perferuntur.

<sup>132</sup> Strabo, XII, 6, 3; 1, 4: 'Αντιπάτρου τοῦ ληστοῦ Δέρβης; Cic., *Ad Fam.*, XIII, 73; K. P., II, no. 248.

<sup>133</sup> Strabo, XII, 6, 3-5.

<sup>134</sup> Strabo, XII, 6, 5; Pliny, *H. N.*, V, 94; Tac., *Ann.*, III, 48; see below on colonies.

<sup>135</sup> See above on the forts of Mysia Abbaitis subdued by Manius Aquillius before 129 B. C.; Cic., *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 25: sublata Mysiae latrocinia.

<sup>136</sup> Strabo, XII, 8, 8-9: 'Ἐστὶ τοίνυν δ' Ὀλυμπος κύκλῳ μὲν οὐ συνοικούμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσι δρυμοὺς ἐξαισίους ἔχων καὶ ληστήρια δυναμένους ἐκτρέφειν τόπους εὐερκεῖς, ἐν οἷς καὶ τύραννοι συνίστανται πολλάκις, οἱ δυνάμενοι συμμεῖναι πολὺν χρόνον· καθάπερ Κλέων ὁ κατ' ἡμᾶς τῶν ληστηρίων ἡγεμὼν. Οὗτος δ' ἦν μὲν ἐκ Γορδίου κώμης, ἣν ὕστερον αὐξήσας ἐποίησε πόλιν καὶ προσηγόρευσεν Ἰουλιόπολιν. ληστηρίῳ δ' ἐχρήτο καὶ δρυμητηρίῳ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῷ καρτερωτάτῳ τῶν χωρίων, ὄνομα Καλλυδίῳ, κτλ. On Tilliborus in these same regions, see Lucian, *Alex.*, 2.

<sup>137</sup> His occupation of Cibra and his levy of ships are mentioned above. The results of Sulla's exactions will be discussed below.

through Galatia into Pontus, in which he took Comana "with a rich and venerable temple" and plundered the country and temples around about. A second expedition netted the plunder of 400 villages, but when he began a third advance toward Sinope the king resisted and defeated him so severely that in 81 B. C. Sulla recalled him.<sup>138</sup> There remained for his successor Thermus the reduction of Mitylene, already hard hit by Lucullus in 80 B. C.<sup>139</sup> The city lost its freedom. In the intervening years of peace the king's preparations included an alliance with Tigranes of Armenia, who had united the various districts of Armenia and expanded his empire at the expense of the Parthians and the Seleucids.<sup>140</sup> Having gained possession of Syria and Cilicia by 83 B. C., Tigranes now occupied Cappadocia and transported, according to Appian (*Mith.*, 67), 300,000 people from Cappadocia to his new capital Tigranocerta. This number may, however, include what he had taken from Cilicia where he left cities wholly or partly deserted.<sup>141</sup> Such a wholesale removal of the population would go far to explain the subsequent excessive weakness and poverty of the Cappadocian kings, despite the efforts both of Lucullus and of Pompey to help them.

At his death in 74 Nicomedes left Bithynia as a legacy to Rome.<sup>142</sup> Following the precedent of Asia, it was declared a province and placed under the temporary care of the governor of Asia. The king's personal goods and properties became the property of the Roman people and his land public land,<sup>143</sup> while the publicans coming in at once (if

<sup>138</sup> App., *Mith.*, 64: ἐσβαλὼν ἐς Κόμανα, κάμην ὑπὸ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μεγίστην, σεβάσμιον ἱερὸν καὶ πλούσιον ἔχουσαν . . . ἐλεηλάτει καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἀποσχόμενος; 65: τετρακοσίας τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐπέτρεχεν . . . λείας δὲ πολλῆς καταγέμων; Memnon, 36 in *F. H. G.*, III, 544.

<sup>139</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 4: captured many, slew 500, took off 6,000 slaves and other booty; Suet., *Jul.*, 2; Livy, *Epit.*, 89; Plut., *Pomp.*, 42.

<sup>140</sup> *O. A. H.*, IX, 366 ff.; T. Reinach, *Mith. Eur.* (Goetz), 306 f.

<sup>141</sup> Strabo, XI, 14, 15: gathered peoples hither from 12 Greek cities which he laid waste; XII, 2, 9: Tigranes forced the people of Mazaca to migrate; Plut., *Luc.*, 26; *Pomp.*, 28; App., *Mith.*, 96; 115.

<sup>142</sup> App., *Mith.*, 7: Νικομήδης Ῥωμαίους τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπεν; 71; Livy, *Epit.*, 93: Nicomedes Bithyniae rex populum Romanum fecit heredem, regnumque eius in provinciae formam redactum est; Vell. Pat., II, 4, 1; 39, 2; 42; Arrian, 24 in *F. H. G.*, III, 591; Ampelius, 33, 3; Eutrop., VI, 8. Note, however, *Schol. Gronov.* (Stangl, 316): iste mortuus est intestatus; Sallust, *Hist.*, II, 71, M: quos adversum multi ex Bithynia volentes accurrere falsum filium arguturi.

<sup>143</sup> Festus, 320, L: quod signum Pompeius Bithynicus ex Bithynia supellectilis regiae Romam deportavit; Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, II, 50: Adiungit agros Bithyniae regios quibus nunc publicani fruuntur.

they had not been doing so for a considerable period already<sup>144</sup>) made themselves cordially hated throughout the province and interfered in cities which strictly did not belong to the province at all, such as Heracleia.<sup>145</sup>

The Bithynian succession precipitated the struggle for which Mithridates had been preparing a large army and fleet and great stores of grain, weapons, and supplies.<sup>146</sup> The points of economic interest in this war lie in the account of the regions and cities which suffered, of the losses sustained of men and materials, and the booty taken, none of which can be accurately estimated. Bithynia was occupied, except Chalcedon, where the Romans lost their fleet and 3,000 men.<sup>147</sup> The Cyzicenes suffered much in the subsequent siege (3,000 of them had been captured), but the king's forces, 140,000 men and 16,000 horse, weakened with hunger and disease, were practically annihilated by Lucullus.<sup>148</sup> We are told of the plundering of Artemis of Parium.<sup>149</sup> The king's piratical allies probably plundered many other cities and shrines. Eumachus made trouble in Phrygia, Galatia, and southern Asia Minor but was expelled with heavy losses by the loyal Galatian Deiotarus.<sup>150</sup> Beyond this Asia suffered little from the war, but Bithynia, twice swept by advancing and retreating armies, suffered greatly; the advance of Lucullus in the interior and of Cotta along the coast soon brought the same experience to the previously uninvaded lands of Pontus. Lucullus, more scrupulous than other commanders such as Cotta, tried to spare the cities but was partially frustrated by the depredations of the royal garrisons and by the desire of his own

<sup>144</sup> Diod., XXXVI, 3; App., *Mith.*, 11; Cic., *Verr.*, II, 1, 63.

<sup>145</sup> App., *Mith.*, 71; Memnon, 38 in *F. H. G.*, III, 545: Δημοσιωνίας δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθιστώντων, καὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν ταύταις ἐπέβαλλον· οἱ δὲ δημοσιῶναι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικόμεναι, παρὰ τὰ ἔθνη τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀργύριον ἀπαιτοῦντες τοὺς πολίτας ἐλύπουν. . . .; Plut., *Luc.*, 7.

<sup>146</sup> App., *Mith.*, 69: depots of 2,000,000 medimni of grain; 140,000 foot, 16,000 horse, etc.; Plut., *Luc.*, 7 says 120,000 foot; Strabo, XII, 8, 11, 150,000 men.

<sup>147</sup> App., *Mith.*, 71; Plut., *Luc.*, 8: 4,000 men lost, and 60 vessels.

<sup>148</sup> App., *Mith.*, 72-76; Plut., *Luc.*, 9-11; Cic., *Pro Mur.*, 33; *Arch.*, 21; *Pro Leg. Man.*, 20; Front., *Strat.*, III, 13, 6; Strabo, XII, 8, 11: as a reward the city remained free and received additional territory including Zeleia beyond the Aisepus, the plain of Adrasteia, part of Lake Daseylitis, Dolionis, Mygdonis, and territory as far as Lake Apolloniatis (some of these regions probably belonged to Cyzicus before).

<sup>149</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 13; cf. App., *Mith.*, 76, siege of Lampsacus by Lucullus, removal of the citizens by Mithridates.

<sup>150</sup> App., *Mith.*, 75.

soldiers for booty.<sup>151</sup> Apameia Myrleia and Prusa suffered siege; Nicaea by sending the Pontic soldiers away escaped with little loss. Prusias ad mare (Cius) surrendered with good will and so gained freedom;<sup>152</sup> Heracleia Pontica, garrisoned by the Galatian Conna-corix, underwent siege for two years, was sacked by the soldiery and robbed of its art treasures by Cotta, but upon complaint to Rome regained its land, harbours, and captive citizens.<sup>153</sup> After its fall came the surrender of Tieium and Amastris.<sup>154</sup> Amisus and Sinope after long sieges were both fired by the Mithridatic soldiery; the former was also sacked by the Roman soldiery. Lucullus did what he could to restore them, adding 120 stadia to the city territory of Amisus, and making them both free cities.<sup>155</sup> There are notices also of the siege and capture of Themiscyra on the Iris, Amaseia, Eupatoria, and Cabeira where great treasures were obtained; so too, other strongholds and treasuries of the king in Pontus and Lesser Armenia.<sup>156</sup>

On entering the undevastated land of Pontus Lucullus found a wealth of booty and supplies, "such that an ox sold in his camp for a drachma, and a man slave for four, and other booty had no value at all,"<sup>157</sup> but the necessity of living off the country and the king's counter move of ravaging the country before him soon made it necessary to bring in supplies from the south.<sup>158</sup> Mithridates' return from Armenia brought renewed raiding by both sides as far as the Halys.<sup>159</sup> Pompey had later to furnish provision trains as he came, and Mithridates suffered from lack of supplies as he drew back into Lesser Armenia.<sup>160</sup> The permanent effect of these vicissitudes of military occupation, ravaging, and booty-gathering is indicated by Strabo's re-

<sup>151</sup> See Plut., *Luc.*, 14 and see below on Heracleia, Sinope, Amisus.

<sup>152</sup> App., *Mith.*, 77; Memnon, 41 in *F.H.G.*, III, 547; *I.G.R.P.*, III, 34, Prusa claimed to have withstood siege by Mithridates until relieved by the Romans.

<sup>153</sup> Memnon, 49-52; 59 in *F.H.G.*, III, 551-4; 557; App., *Mith.*, 82.

<sup>154</sup> Memnon, 52; App., *l. o.*

<sup>155</sup> Memnon, 45; 53-4; Plut., *Luc.*, 19; 23; App., *Mith.*, 83; Strabo, XII, 3, 14.

<sup>156</sup> App., *Mith.*, 78; 115 (Eupatoria); Memnon, 54; Plut., *Luc.*, 18.

<sup>157</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 14; App., *Mith.*, 78: οἷα δ' εὐδαίμονος χώρας καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπολεμήτου, τὸ μὲν ἀνδράποδον τεττάρων δραχμῶν αὐτίκα ἐγίγνετο, ὃ δὲ βοῦς μιᾶς, αἶγες δὲ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἐσθῆς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τούτων κατὰ λόγον. The march through Galatia to Pontus had been more difficult for lack of supplies, *Luc.*, 14.

<sup>158</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 17; App., *Mith.*, 80-81; Sallust, *Hist.*, III, 38 M.

<sup>159</sup> App., *Mith.*, 89-90; Plut., *Luc.*, 35.

<sup>160</sup> App., *Mith.*, 99.

mark,<sup>161</sup> "In my country there are several demolished strongholds and also much deserted land because of the Mithridatic war."

The population also suffered heavy losses. Probably half of the original army of 140,000 men and 16,000 horse, which had been annihilated near Cyzicus, had come from Pontus; the second Pontic army of 40,000 foot and 4,000 horse, and the final army of 30,000 foot and 3,000 horse which faced Pompey both suffered severely.<sup>162</sup> When to these losses are added the losses at sea, those killed by either side in the cities captured or besieged, and the many captives doubtless sold into slavery, it is plausible to assume that 120,000 people at least perished in Mithridates' kingdom. Finally, the king had drained the country of treasure in preparation for the war,<sup>163</sup> and the Romans, commanders and soldiers alike, gathered booty besides carrying off the contents of the royal storehouses at Cabira, Talaura (Lucullus), Sinoria (Pompey) and elsewhere.<sup>164</sup> Although the royal treasures included the booty the king had taken from Asia,<sup>165</sup> and some of the treasure from Tigranocerta in turn consisted of loot taken by Tigranes from Cappadocia and Cilicia, there can be little doubt that Lucullus and Pompey brought to Rome most of the cash reserves of Pontus, Cappadocia, Armenia, and Cilicia.

We may note the following items (cf. Vol. I, 324-5):

At Tigranocerta Lucullus found "8,000 talents of coined money as well as the usual valuables, while each man got 800 dr. from the general spoils" (the city was sacked), Plut., *Luc.*, 29; the treasure of Zarbienus of Gordyene included raiment, gold, spoils of Tigranes, and silver, and a store of 3,000,000 medimni of grain, *ibid.*; to the 1,600 soldiers left him by Pompey he gave 950 dr. each, 1,520,000 dr., besides turning over sums to Pompey for the war with the pirates, and to the public treasury, *ibid.* 37; in his triumph were carried, besides prisoners, chariots,

<sup>161</sup> XII, 3, 39: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐρύματα πλείω κατασκαμμένα ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ χώρᾳ καὶ ἔρημος γῆ πολλή διὰ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον.

<sup>162</sup> App., *Mith.*, 69; Plut., *Luc.*, 7; Strabo, XII, 8, 11 (150,000 men); App., *Mith.*, 78; 97; Plut., *Pomp.*, 32 (2,000 horse); App., *Mith.*, 100: 10,000 were slain in the final battle.

<sup>163</sup> The king was probably as pitiless in his requisitions in Pontus as he was later in the Crimea, App., *Mith.*, 107.

<sup>164</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 17-18; App., *Mith.*, 82, the soldiers in pursuit of plunder let Mithridates escape; cf. 78, 101, 115, and Plut., *Pomp.*, 36; Strabo, XII, 3, 31 on the treasures of Kainon Chorion near Cabeira, later stored in the Capitol where Pompey dedicated them; *ib.*, 28 on Hydara, Basgoedariza, Sinoria, and Dasteira.

<sup>165</sup> App., *Mith.*, 115: the booty of Talauri included the treasures formerly deposited by Cleopatra of Egypt at Cos, as well as objects inherited from Darius or made or collected by Mithridates himself.

and beaks of ships, a gold statue of Mithridates six feet high, 20 liters of silver vessels, 32 liters of gold beakers, armour and money; in addition, 8 mules bore golden couches, 56 carried ingots of silver, 107 more almost 2,700,000 pieces of silver coin, *ibid.*; Athen., VI, 274e; Eutrop., VI, 10.

Mithridates as he fled managed to abstract 6,000 talents from Sinoria, Plut., *Pomp.*, 32; App., *Mith.*, 101, but at Talaurei Pompey found 2,000 drinking cups of onyx welded with gold, as well as cups, wine coolers, drinking horns, couches, chairs, bridles, and trappings, all ornamented with precious stones and gold; it took 30 days to move this treasure, App., *Mith.*, 116. Apparently there was little coined money, which was probably growing scarce in Pontus by 65 B.C. From Tigranes came 6,000 talents of silver for Pompey himself, 50 dr. for each soldier, 1,000 to each centurion and 10,000 to each tribune, App., *Mith.*, 104; Plut., *Pomp.*, 33; Strabo, XI, 14, 10 (a talent to each tribune), a total of 38,528,000 dr. The final distribution is put by Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXVII, 16 at 50,000,000 dr. to the state and 25,000,000 to his legati and quaestors; from Plut., *Pomp.*, 45 (cf. Pliny, *l.c.*) we learn that each soldier got 1,500 dr. and from App., *Mith.*, 116 that the total to officers and men was 16,000 talents (96,000,000 dr.). According to Plut., *Pomp.*, 45 he brought the treasury 20,000 talents in coined money and gold and silver vessels (120,000,000 dr.). App., *Mith.*, 116 describes a triumph with horse carriages and litters laden with gold and other ornaments, the couch of Darius, throne and sceptre of Mithridates, a solid gold image 8 cubits high, and 75,100,000 dr. of silver coin; after an expensive triumph there remained money for an offering of 12,360 gold coins and 307 talents of silver (over 2,000,000 dr.) to Minerva (Diod., XL, 4), and funds besides for the building of his theater. He also lent the king of Cappadocia some money to restore his pillaged kingdom (Vol. I, 325, 389). Both Lucullus and Pompey made the war pay (cf. Plut., *Luc.*, 29; Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, 20-21), and we may estimate that a total capital of at least 350,000,000 dr. (60 + 290) or \$70,000,000 pre-Roosevelt dollars was carried out from the East; of this eastern Asia Minor without Armenia may well have contributed more than a third. The whole total may have been considerably more, and no estimate has been attempted of the destruction caused. It may be noted for the sake of comparison that Cicero's little expedition against Pindenissus in eastern Cilicia yielded booty which sold at auction for 12,000,000 HS, or \$600,000, Att., V, 20, 5.

*Pompey's Settlement.* Pompey annexed the seacoast of the Black Sea some distance beyond the Iris<sup>166</sup> and added it to Bithynia, while Cilicia received a practical addition as a result of the effective occupation of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and the coast with Cilicia Pedias.<sup>167</sup> Having thus provided for the protection of cities and of commerce he reverted to the regular Roman policy of leaving the undeveloped and poorly organized inland regions to the administration of native princes, priests or dynasts.<sup>168</sup> Tigranes retained Armenia;<sup>169</sup> Ariobarzanes

<sup>166</sup> Assuming that Amisus was included in the new province, Strabo, XII, 3, 16; cf. 3, 1: a part of the coast of Gazelonitis near the mouth of the Halys was given to Deiotarus, Strabo, XII, 3, 13. The inland districts of the Amnias valley also belonged to the Pompeian province.

<sup>167</sup> All but Cilicia Pedias and Tracheia were nominally portions of the province before; on Cilicia see App., *Syr.*, 49-50; App., *Mith.*, 105; 118.

<sup>168</sup> Strabo, XIV, 5, 6: (on Cilicia Tracheia) ἐδόκει πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τοιοῦτο βασιλεύεσθαι

was restored to Cappadocia and Antiochus to Commagene, both receiving territory east of the Euphrates to command the crossing.<sup>170</sup> When the former resigned in favour of his son, Pompey lent the new ruler a considerable sum to aid in restoring his devastated kingdom.<sup>171</sup> Deiotarus of Galatia was apparently not only confirmed in his ancestral kingdom over the Tolistobogii of western Galatia, but received also some territory about the mouth of the Halys and the Pontic coastland from a point east of the Iris to Trapezus.<sup>172</sup> Besides these several petty dynasts may be listed: Attalus and Pylaemenes in the mountains of Paphlagonia;<sup>173</sup> Domnilius and Castor over the Tectosages; Brogitarus over the Galatian Trocmi, who received a slice of inland Pontus with the town of Mithridatium and perhaps also Armenia Minor;<sup>174</sup> Archelaus, the son of Mithridates' general, was given the priesthood of Pontic Comana with some additional territory;<sup>175</sup> Tarcondimotus got a small kingdom in the Amanus in Eastern Cilicia,<sup>176</sup> while the priests of Olba<sup>177</sup> and probably other chieftains in Cilicia Tracheia continued in authority undisturbed.

Together with this recognition of actual social and economic conditions went a policy definitely intended to stimulate the growth of cities, or at least the formation about natural centers of territorial units which could be held responsible for the preservation of order and the

μᾶλλον τοὺς τόπους, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμόσιν εἶναι, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις πεμπομένοις, οἱ μῆτε δεῖ παρεῖναι ἑμὲλλον, μήτε μεθ' ὅπλων.

<sup>169</sup> App., *Mith.*, 105; 114.

<sup>170</sup> App., *Mith.*, 105; 114; since Castabala of Cilicia was the seat of Tarcondimotus and successors, Strabo, XIV, 5, 18; *O. G. I. S.*, 752-4, this passage of Appian, as well as Strabo XII, 1, 4; 2, 7, must either be mistaken in adding Castabala to the kingdom of Cappadocia or else must refer to a Castabala otherwise unknown; Cybistra remained in Cappadocia, Cic., *Ad Att.*, V, 18, 1.

<sup>171</sup> See Vol. I, 325, 389.

<sup>172</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 13; 5, 1; App., *Mith.*, 114; *Syr.*, 50 (4 (?) dynasts in tetrarchies); Cic., *Pro Deiot.*, 10; *Philipp.*, II, 94; *De Div.*, II, 79; Caes., *Bell. Alex.*, 34; 66; Eutrop., VI, 14. He later received Armenia Minor from the senate, perhaps after the death of Brogitarus' patron, Clodius, in 52, Adcock, *J. R. S.*, XXVII (1937), 12 ff.

<sup>173</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 1; App., *Mith.*, 114; Eutrop., VI, 14.

<sup>174</sup> Caesar, *B. C.*, III, 4, 5; Strabo, XII, 5, 2-3; Cic., *Pro Sest.*, 56; *Quint. Frat.*, II, 7, 2; *Harusp. Resp.*, 28; see Head, *Hist. Num.*, 747; Haussoullier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*, 209 f., 214 f., 222; Adcock, *J. R. S.*, XXVII (1937), 12 ff.

<sup>175</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 34; App., *Mith.*, 114: *δυναστεία βασιλική*.

<sup>176</sup> Strabo, XIV, 5, 18; Cic., *Fam.*, XV, 1, 2; cf. Jones, *C. E. R. P.*, 203 f., perhaps also Aegeae and Elaeussa.

<sup>177</sup> Strabo, XIV, 5, 10.

payment of taxes. Strabo's phrase regarding the founding of Neapolis "proclaiming the settlement at the village of Phazemon a city and calling it Neapolis" indicates how urbanized some of Pompey's cities were.<sup>178</sup> The sites of those in Pontus, eleven in number,<sup>179</sup> were, however, selected with a sure eye for the conditions conducive to the development of an active commercial and a true civic life.<sup>180</sup> Pompeiopolis<sup>181</sup> in the Amnias valley, Neapolis-Phazemon,<sup>182</sup> Magnopolis-Eupatoria,<sup>183</sup> which received additional territory, Diospolis-Cabeira,<sup>184</sup> and his mixed colony of natives and veterans at Nicopolis<sup>185</sup> in Lesser Armenia all lay on the great trunk road from the Bosphorus to Armenia, while the old cities of Amisus and Amaseia (once the capital of the kingdom),<sup>186</sup> Zela, a small temple state to which Pompey gave additional territory,<sup>187</sup> and Megalopolis (later Sebasteia)<sup>188</sup> lay on the main road across Pontus from north to south, connecting the parallel valleys that compose the better part of the country, and forming, as

<sup>178</sup> XII, 3, 38: ἡ Φαζημωνίτις ἐστίν, ἣν Πομπήιος Νεαπολίτιν ὠνόμασε, κατὰ Φαζημῶνα κώμην πόλιν ἀποδείξας τὴν κατοικίαν καὶ προσαγορεύσας Νεάπολιν. With this policy went the destruction of many of the old refuges and strongholds, partly, of course, in the interests of order to keep them from being useful to brigands (*ib.* on Icizari, Sagyllium, etc: οὕτω γὰρ διετέρακτο Πομπήιος, κατασπᾶν κεύσας τὰ φρούρια καὶ μὴ εἶν χρήσιμα τοῖς ἀναφεύγειν εἰς αὐτὰ βουλομένοις λησστηρίων χάριν; cf. *ib.* 30; 39; 40).

<sup>179</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 1: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ εἰς ἑνδεκα πολιτείας διείλε καὶ τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προσέθηκεν. App., *Mith.*, 117 speaks of 8 cities founded in Cappadocia; cf. Cass. Dio, XXXVII, 20, 3; on the identification of the eleven cities see T. Rice Holmes, *Rom. Repub.*, I, 211, 434 f. and the literature cited there.

<sup>180</sup> See Munro, *Geogr. Soc.*, Suppl. III (1893), 739 f.; *J. H. S.*, XXI (1901), 52-66; cf. *Stud. Pont.*, I, 86-7.

<sup>181</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 40: ἀπεδείχθη πόλις.

<sup>182</sup> *Id.*, XII, 3, 38; cf. note 178 above.

<sup>183</sup> *Id.*, XII, 3, 30: Πομπήιος δὲ ἡμιτελῇ καταλαβὼν, προσθεῖς χώραν, καὶ οἰκήτορας, Μαγνόπολιν προσείπεν; App., *Mith.*, 115.

<sup>184</sup> *Id.*, XII, 3, 31: Πομπήιος σκευάσαντος εἰς πόλιν καὶ καλέσαντος Διόσπολιν.

<sup>185</sup> Cass. Dio, XXXVI, 50, 3: πόλιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐνίκηκε συνέκτισε, τοῖς τραυματίαις καὶ τοῖς ἀφῆλικεστέροις τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτὴν δοῦς. καὶ σφισι καὶ τῶν περιχώρων ἐθελονταὶ πολλοὶ συνέκτισαν; Strabo, XII, 3, 28.

<sup>186</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 14-16; 39.

<sup>187</sup> *Id.*, XI, 8, 4: Πομπήιος προσθεῖς χώραν ἀξιόλογον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ συνοικίσας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος μίαν τῶν πόλεων ἀπέφηνεν, ὣν διέταξε μετὰ τὴν Μιθριδάτου κατάλυσιν; XII, 3, 37. There is no evidence to show what Pompey did with the private and crown lands of the Pontic kings. The private lands in the portions annexed probably became *ager publicus* of Rome, like those of Bithynia, and were farmed by the publicans. One suspects that the territories added to many of these cities, and to temple states like Comana, as well as to older cities like Amisus, were once part of the crown lands; such, too, may have been the isolated territory near the Halys mouth in Gazelonitis given to Deiotarus, *ib.*, XII, 3, 13.

<sup>188</sup> *Id.*, XII, 3, 31; 37.



Munro has well phrased it, its alimentary canal. He was equally ready to assist the older cities too, apparently confirmed the favours that Lucullus had given to Amisus and Sinope, and added a large area to the territory of Nicaea.<sup>189</sup> For all the cities of the provinces Pompey drew up municipal charters which still remained the basis of their constitution in the days of Pliny the Younger and Cassius Dio.<sup>190</sup> He was equally ready to restore cities elsewhere; Mazaca of Cappadocia received aid,<sup>191</sup> and we have mentioned above his settlements of ex-pirates in the weakened and deserted cities of Cilicia Pedias.<sup>192</sup> On his way home he restored to Mitylene its status as a free city<sup>193</sup> to please his friend, Theophanes, a native of the city. On his arrangements for imposing and collecting taxes see below under Taxes and Publicans. It is relevant here to say that he both aided the cities and prevented the worst abuses of the publicans by making stipendiary communities responsible for collection of the tribute through their own officials. They were obliged, however, as communities to make their agreements with the publicans regarding the total sum to be collected. The settlement throughout was statesmanlike in conception, at once having regard for the conditions of the moment, and providing a basis for future development. It is no wonder that several of its essential features proved so lasting.

Between 63 B. C. and the outbreak of civil war in 49 few changes occurred. Clodius in 58 sold the lucrative priesthood of the Magna Mater at Pessinus to Brogitarus (Bogodatiarius?), prince of the Trocmi, for a considerable sum but Deiotarus finally drove him out again. The latter became the ruler of Lesser Armenia, perhaps after Clodius' death in 52, and after the death of Brogitarus he disputed the succession over the Trocmi with Mithridates of Pergamum.<sup>194</sup> In 51 Cicero

<sup>189</sup> Plut., *Luo.*, 19; App., *Mith.*, 83; *M. A. M. A.*, V, 60; cf. Jones, *C. E. R. P.*, 160-2. I think that the crown lands did not become *ager publicus*. Their addition to a city territory did not exempt them from the tithe but rather made the city responsible for it. See below.

<sup>190</sup> Pliny, *Epist.*, X, 79, 80, 112, 114, 115; Cass. Dio, XXXVII, 20, 3: *τά τε πλείω ἔθνη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ ἡπειρῷ τότε αὐτοῖς ὄντων νόμοις τε ἰδίῳ καὶ πολιτείαις κατεστήσατο καὶ διεκόσμησεν, ὥστε καὶ δεῦρο αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνου νομισθεῖσι χρῆσθαι.*

<sup>191</sup> App., *Mith.*, 115: *Μάζακα, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λελυμασμένην ἐς τέλος, ἤγειρεν αὐθις.*

<sup>192</sup> See notes 121 and 141.

<sup>193</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 42.

<sup>194</sup> Cic., *Pro Sest.*, 56; *Harusp. Resp.*, 28 f.; *De Dom.*, 129; *Quint. Frat.*, II, 7, 2. See notes 172 and 174.

found the new king of Cappadocia seriously troubled by the unruly attitude of the priest of Cappadocian Comana and the Cappadocian nobility,<sup>195</sup> probably owing to Rome's loss of prestige after Carrhae. The three Asiatic *conventus* of Synnada, Apameia and Laodiceia, which were under the charge of governors of Asia until 56, were transferred to Cilicia<sup>196</sup> where they remained until the civil war.

Most important was the annexation of Cyprus by the tribune Clodius in 58. Cato was sent to organize the island with orders to sell the personal property (*οὐσίαν*) of the king and deposit the proceeds in the Roman treasury.<sup>197</sup> Plutarch describes the rich furnishings, goblets, tables, jewels, and purple clothing, which when sold amounted to almost 7,000 talents of silver, and the strictness of Cato as auctioneer;<sup>198</sup> Cassius Dio mentions also some slaves which were brought to Rome.<sup>199</sup> The mines probably became public property but information before Augustus is lacking. Cato's offer to give King Ptolemy a safe and lucrative position as priest in Paphos<sup>200</sup> indicates that he intended to give temple territories and cities as good a status as his orders permitted. The island became part of the province of Cilicia.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>195</sup> Cic., *Ad Fam.*, XV, 2, 4; 6 f.

<sup>196</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 34; 39; *Quint. Frat.*, I, 2, 4; Head, *Hist. Num.*, 666; Cic., *Ad Fam.*, I, 3; III, 6, 2; *Att.*, V, 15, 1; 16, 2; 21, 9.

<sup>197</sup> Cic., *De Dom.*, 52: ut Cyprius rex . . . cum bonis omnibus sub praeconem subiceretur; *Pro Sestio*, 57; Cass. Dio, XXXVIII, 30, 5 *τὴν τε νῆσον ἐδημοσίωσε*; Plut., *Cato Minor*, 34-39; *Pomp.*, 48; Strabo, XIV, 6, 6: *Κάτων . . . παρέλαβε τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν οὐσίαν διέθετο, καὶ τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ταμεῖον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκόμισεν*; Pliny, *H. N.*, VII, 113.

<sup>198</sup> Plut., *Cato Minor*, 36: οὐσης δὲ πολλῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐν ἐκπώμασι καὶ τραπέζαις καὶ λίθοις καὶ πορφύραις κατασκευῆς ἦν ἔδει πραθεῖσαν ἐξαργυρισθῆναι . . . 38: *συνήχθη ἀργυρίου τάλαντα μικρὸν ἑπτακισχιλίων ἀποδέοντα*; for the cantharides poison and the works of art (except Zeno's statue) which Cato sold see Pliny, *H. N.*, XXIX, 96; XXXIV, 92 respectively; cf. Vell. Pat., II, 45.

<sup>199</sup> XXXIX, 22, 3; 23, 2.

<sup>200</sup> Plut., *Cato Minor*, 35.

<sup>201</sup> Cic., *Ad Fam.*, I, 7, 4; *Ad Att.*, V, 21, 7; VI, 2, 9.

## CHAPTER II

### THE EXPLOITATION OF ASIA MINOR

*The Publicans.* As a result of the Sempronian law the publicans soon tried to bring under their tithing system every possible bit of property, public land, city or other land, even salt pans, from which some profit might be squeezed. Thus arose various disputes, one regarding the right of Artemis to the tolls from the fisheries in the lagoons near Ephesus,<sup>1</sup> which was settled in favour of the goddess, another regarding the sacred land of Athena of Ilium, which was also restored,<sup>2</sup> a third regarding the sacred land and salt works of Athena Polias of Priene,<sup>3</sup> and, finally, the one between Pergamum, which was then (c. 100 B. C.) probably free and immune, and the publicans, mentioned in an inscription of Adramyttium.<sup>4</sup> The really serious abuses which soon arose in the collections have not been minimized by a historical tradition unfavourable to the Gracchan juries. Almost the only evidence concerns the governorship of Mucius Scaevola and his legate Rutilius Rufus, Diodorus (XXXVII, 5):<sup>5</sup> "The publicans

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, XIV, 1, 26: *ἀς οἱ βασιλεῖς μὲν, ἱερὰς οὖσας, ἀφείλοντο τὴν θεόν, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἀπέδωσαν· πάλιν δ' οἱ δημοσιῶναι βιασάμενοι περιέστησαν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὰ τέλη, πρεσβεύσας δὲ ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος, ὡς φησι, τὰς τε λίμνας ἀπέλαβε τῇ θεῷ.*

<sup>2</sup> O. G. I. S., 440: ἀποκαταστήσαντα τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἰλιάδι καὶ ἐξελόμενον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς δημοσιωνίας.

<sup>3</sup> *Inschr. v. Priene*, 111, ll. 112 ff. with corrections by Holleaux, *B. C. H.*, XXXI (1907), 387: *ἀ π[ρ]ότερα[ν] εἰργάζετο βασιλεὺς Ἀτταλος, οὗτε διακατέχει ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν οὗτε [ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξουσίαν οὐ]δεμίαν εἰς τοὺς δημοσιῶνας πεποιήται· τὰς δὲ κατασκευασθείσας ὑφ' ἑαυ[τοῦ] ἀλέας τὰς ἀνακειμέ[ν]ας ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι, ἀς κατέχει καὶ καρπίζεται [ὁ δῆμος, ἀνέσψωσεν, π]αρακαλῶν τὸν ἀνθύπατον τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλίωνων λεγομένοις μὴ προσ[έχειν, ἀκέραια δὲ ἑᾶσ]αι τῷ δῆμῳ τὰ πράγματα, μέχρι ἂν ἐπιγνῶμεν τὸ κριθησόμενον ὑπὲρ [αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκ]λήτου, . . .*

<sup>4</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 262: *περὶ χώρας ἥ [τις ἐν ἀντι]λογία ἐστὶν δημοσιῶ[ναις πρὸς] Περγαμηνούς; cf. Turk Tarîh (1934), 237-242 for fragments of another copy.*

<sup>5</sup> *οἱ γὰρ προγεγονότες κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν δημοσιῶναι, κοινωνοὺς ἐσχηκότες τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰς δημοσίας κρίσεις διαδικάζοντας, ἀνομημάτων ἐπεπληρώκεσαν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν. Ὅτι Κόιντος ὁ Σκαιούλας . . . τὰ τῶν δημοσιωνῶν ἀνομήματα διωρθώσατο. πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ἀκριβῆ κριτήρια προστατεύων, καταδίκους ἐν ἅπασιν ἐποίησε τοὺς δημοσιῶνας, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀργυρικάς βλάβας τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ἐκτίνειν ἠνάγκαζε, τὰ δὲ θανατικά τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἥξιον κρίσεως θανατικῆς. ὅτε δὴ τὸν κορυφαῖον τούτων οἰκονόμον, διδόντα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ συμπεφωνηκότα πρὸς τοὺς κυρίους, φθάσας τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ θανάτου καταδικάσας ἀνεσταύρωσεν. ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τοὺς δημοσιῶνας κατεδίκαζε καὶ τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ἐνεχείριζε. καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν καὶ πλεονεξίαν πολλὰ παρανομοῦντας παρ' ἐλπίδας ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδικημένων ἀπάγεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς καταδίκους.*

previously in Asia, in partnership with those in charge of the courts in Rome, had filled the province with crimes. Quintus Scaevola . . . corrected the crimes of the publicans. Providing an honest court for those who were wronged he condemned the publicans on all counts, compelling them to make compensation for the financial harm done and punishing capital crimes with capital sentences. He even anticipated the manumission of their chief steward, who had paid over much money and made an agreement with his masters for his freedom, condemned him to death, and crucified him. He used to condemn publicans and hand them over to the plaintiffs so that those who a little while before committed many transgressions through greed and pride were unexpectedly led to condemnation by their victims." Livy, *Epit.*, 70:<sup>6</sup> "P. Rutilius, a man of perfect honesty, by defending Asia from the injustice of the publicans while legate of Q. Mucius gained the hatred of the equestrian order, who had control of the courts, was condemned for peculation, and sent into exile." Elsewhere Diodorus and Appian speak of the hatred these abuses aroused. The "Asian Vespers" was the result.

The very necessities of the task of gathering and handling collections in kind must have caused a considerable expansion of the business activities of the publicans and the organization of a large staff before the Mithridatic wars, but the evidence consists only of the mention made above of the widely separated points at which disputes broke out and of a chief steward (κορυφαῖος οἰκονόμος). The fact that the considerably more than 80,000 "Romans" resident in the province in 88 were mostly Italiote Greeks<sup>7</sup> indicates that the Roman publicans made use of the experience and enterprise of the traders who had already established themselves at Delos, and to some extent in Asia, before the end of the second century. The amount of Roman money tied up in tax contracts and other investments together was very great; for the losses in 88 caused the ruin of many fortunes, prevented payments, and destroyed credit at Rome.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> P. Rutilius, vir summae innocentiae, quoniam legatus Q. Mucii pro. eos. a publicanorum iniuriis Asiam defenderat, invisus equestri ordine, penes quam iudicia erant, repetundarum damnatus in exilium missus est; Cass. Dio, fg. 97; Vell. Pat., II, 13; Ps. Ascon., ed. Stangl, 202; Cic., Att., V, 17, 5; VI, 1, 15; Verr., II, 2, 51; I. G. R. P., IV, 188, 297; O. G. I. S., 439; Val. Max., II, 10, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. I, 278.

<sup>8</sup> Gracchan land laws and Italian agitation had probably made Asian investments

Whether Sulla temporarily abolished the system of tax farming or not—the resources of the equestrian class in Italy must have been greatly weakened—the publicans quickly returned to Asia. They were necessary, according to Cicero, because even with the Sullan districts as a basis the communities were unable to collect and pay their tribute.<sup>9</sup> The system established in Asia by the Sempronian law continued, being cited as the basis of a claim for remission of the tax contract in 61.<sup>10</sup> Plutarch mentions the publicans<sup>11</sup> among the oppressors of the province with whom Lucullus had to deal in 70: apparently their greed remained unchecked for a time even without the protection of equestrian juries. In 74 they immediately entered upon the collection of taxes and the exploitation of the public lands in Bithynia, even managing to alienate Heracleia Pontica and other cities in the short period before Mithridates came.<sup>12</sup> The conclusion of the war left them firmly established in the new provinces, but under Pompey's settlement the collectors of the tithe were no longer permitted to deal directly with the individual owners or cultivators of the land. They made their bargains under the supervision of the governor for definite sums with the separate communities, each community being then responsible for the collection and apportionment of the sum agreed upon.<sup>13</sup> The pasture tax and the customs were probably leased as in Asia.<sup>14</sup> Publicans

more attractive. Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, 19: quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates initio belli Asiatici docuit. . . . Nam tum, cum in Asia magnas permulti res amiserunt, scimus Romae solutione impedita fidem concidisse. But conditions in Italy show that the Mithridatic war was not the sole reason, Vol. I, 268 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Quint. *Frat.*, I, 1, 33: qui pendere ipsi vectigal sine publicano non potuerint quod iis aequaliter Sulla discriperat.

<sup>10</sup> Vol. I, 345 f.

<sup>11</sup> Luc., 7: ἀφόρητα πάσχουσιν (Asia) ὑπὸ Ῥωμαϊκῶν δανειστῶν καὶ τελωνῶν; cf. 20: ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ τῶν δανειστῶν πορθημένην καὶ ἀνδραποδιζομένην.

<sup>12</sup> Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, II, 50: agros Bithyniae regiones quibus nunc publicani fruuntur; Memnon, 38 in *F. H. G.*, III, 545; App., *Mith.*, 71; Plut., *Luc.*, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Cic., *Att.*, V, 13, 1: omnibusque satis faciemus et eo facilius quod in nostra provincia confectae sunt pactiones; 14, 1: confectae pactiones publicanorum; VI, 2, 4: Cicero managed by recovering the sums stolen by the local magistrates to get enough money for cities to pay to the publicans the tribute in arrears both of the previous and the present lustrum. The contracts therefore were apparently quinquennial and the publicans being held in check; VI, 3, 3; cf. for Syria, *De Prov. Cons.*, 10.

<sup>14</sup> The pasture tax involved contracts between communities and the publicans; Cic., *Fam.*, XIII, 65: Cum P. Terentio Hispano, qui operas in scriptura pro magistro dat . . . Eius summa existimatio agitur in eo, ut pactiones cum civitatibus reliquis conficiat. Non me praeterit, nos eam rem Ephesi expertos esse neque ab Ephesiis

and their staff in Pontus suffered seriously from the invasion of Pharnaces in 49-7.<sup>15</sup> Cicero of course refers to them often in Cilicia, and Caesar mentions their operations in the new territory of Cyprus in 49.<sup>16</sup> Thus the Sempronian system continued in Asia and the Pompeian in Bithynia and Cilicia until Julius Caesar withdrew the collection of the tithe completely from them in 47 or 48.<sup>17</sup>

Cicero bears witness to "the large staffs which the publicans had in Asia (in 66) in the salt works, on the land, in the harbours, and in the guard stations."<sup>18</sup> These doubtless remained no less numerous throughout the period. The central bureau and treasury for Asia was apparently located at the provincial capital, Ephesus.<sup>19</sup> We hear of several companies or *societates*; <sup>20</sup> the *manceps* or *mancipes* (*magistri*)<sup>21</sup> who made the contracts and subcontracts; the *socii* or shareholders<sup>22</sup> whose money was advanced, some of whom never left Italy, others of whom doubtless were more or less permanent residents of the province; the *magistri* or masters<sup>23</sup> and the *pro magistri* or deputy managers,<sup>24</sup>

ullo modo impetrare potuisse. "With P. Terentius Hispo, who is employed in the collection of grazing dues as deputy manager. . . . His reputation depends mainly upon his settling his contracts with the rest of the cities. It does not slip my memory that we experienced that difficulty at Ephesus and that we could elicit no response whatever from the Ephesians."

<sup>15</sup> *Bell. Alex.*, 70: *familiasque publicanorum remitteret*; cf. 41; *Cic., Fam.*, XIII, 9.

<sup>16</sup> *Caes., Bell. Civ.*, III, 103: *pecunia societatis sublata . . . duobusque milibus hominum armatis, partim quos ex familiis societatum delegerat . . .*; *Cic., Att.*, V, 15, 3; 21, 4; VI, 1, 15 f.; 2, 5; 3, 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Cass. Dio*, XLII, 6: τοὺς γοῦν τελῶνας . . . ἀπαλλάξας, ἐν φόρου συντέλειαν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐκ τῶν τελῶν κατεστήσατο. "In any case he did away with the taxgatherers . . . and converted the amount accruing from the taxes into a joint payment of tribute"; *App., Bell. Civ.*, V, 4: ὑμῖν (the representatives of the cities) γὰρ τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων. "For he turned over to you the collection of taxes from the cultivators of the soil"; cf. *Plut., Caes.*, 48.

<sup>18</sup> *Pro Leg. Man.*, 16: cum publicani familias maximas quas in salinis habent, quas in agris, quas in portibus atque in custodiis . . .

<sup>19</sup> *Att.*, V, 13, 1: Verum tamen decumani quasi venissem cum imperio . . . se alacres obtulerunt (at Ephesus); Cicero deposited the surplus from his allowance with the publicans in Ephesus—*Fam.*, V, 20, 9: Ephesi apud publicanos deposuisse; *Att.*, XI, 2, 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Cic., Fam.*, XIII, 9: constat enim ex ceteris societatibus; XIII, 65, et al.

<sup>21</sup> *Fam.*, V, 20, 3; *Att.*, VI, 1, 15 (Vettium mancipem, whose standing was not so lofty). The chief contractors in Rome were usually called *magistri*.

<sup>22</sup> *Cic., Fam.*, XIII, 9: remque et utilitatem sociorum (of the Bithynian company); XIII, 65: sociis scripturae (in Asia). *Pro Plano.*, 24: quod is ab sociis unice diligebatur; 34. Cf. *Val. Max.*, VI, 9, 7: T. Aufidius, cum Asiatici publici exiguum admodum particulam habuisset . . .

<sup>23</sup> *Cic., Pro. Plano.*, 32: maximarum societatum auctor, plurimarum *magister*;

under whom were the office staffs and the numerous agents scattered in the provinces.<sup>25</sup> They even organized their own system of messengers, a postal service which public officials were glad to use.<sup>26</sup> The collectors of the tithe doubtless had the most extensive organization, but the companies that farmed the pasture tax and the customs were organized upon similar lines. It was natural that the same people should be members of more than one company<sup>27</sup> and that the companies both in the provinces and in Rome should combine to exert pressure both upon the central government and upon the provincial governors. The probability that the losses sustained by the companies in 61-59 caused them to unite their organizations throughout the eastern provinces has been discussed in Vol. I, 345 f.<sup>28</sup>

The difficulties of a governor with the publicans and the danger that abuses would result are well described by Cicero in a letter to Quintus in Asia (*Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 32):<sup>29</sup> "To all your good will and devotion to duty there is the serious obstacle of the publicans; if we oppose them, we shall alienate from ourselves and from the commonwealth an order that has deserved extremely well of us . . . ; and yet if we yield to them in everything, we shall be acquiescing in the utter ruin of those whose security, and indeed whose interests, we are bound to protect." But apart from the other businesses in which they engaged (see below) their only chance for abuse lay with a complaisant governor who would allow excessive and illegal collections. They and the groups

the elder Plancius was master of the Asian company in 61, *Sch. Bobb.*, ed. Stangl, 157; *Fam.*, XIII, 9: P. Rupilius . . . qui est magister in ea societate (Bithynian, 51 B. C.); *Att.*, V, 15, 4: per magistratos scripturae et portus nostrarum dioecesium (Cilicia, 51 B. C.). The name here applies to the heads of local divisions.

<sup>24</sup> *Cic.*, *Att.*, XI, 10, 1: P. Terentius meus necessarius operas in portu et scriptura Asiae pro magistro dedit (47 B. C.); *Fam.*, XIII, 65 (51 B. C.).

<sup>25</sup> Many of these were slaves or freedmen; *Caes.*, *Bell. Civ.*, III, 103; *Cic.*, *Pro Leg. Man.*, 16: *familias maximas* etc.; *Prov. Cons.*, V, 10; *Fam.*, XIII, 9: Cn. Pupium, qui est in operis eius societatis, i. e. in the company's employ.

<sup>26</sup> *Att.*, V, 15, 3: Tu autem saepe dare tabellariis publicanorum poteris, letters to Cicero in Cilicia, 51 B. C.; cf. V, 21, 4: a letter brought quickly to Iconium per publicanorum tabellarios.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. on Plancius above; *Fam.*, XIII, 9: the Bithynian company was made up of the other companies (constat ex ceteris societatibus).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the previous note. Add as a reference to their losses, *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 33: praesertim publicis male redemptis.

<sup>29</sup> Atqui huic tuae voluntati ac diligentiae difficultatem magnam afferunt publicani; quibus si adversamur ordinem de nobis optime meritum et per nos cum re publica coniunctum et a nobis et a re publica diiungemus; sin autem omnibus in rebus obsequemur, funditus eas perire patiemur, quorum non modo saluti, sed etiam commodis, consulere debemus; cf. 33.

with which they allied themselves were strong enough to have Lucullus superseded.<sup>30</sup> Cicero and doubtless many others felt it necessary to be politic both in Rome and in their provinces.<sup>31</sup> Several of his own letters of recommendation as well as his second letter to Quintus show how influential pressure could be brought to bear upon the governor of a province.<sup>32</sup> But the occasions for bringing pressure to bear after Sulla (and probably before him also) apparently arose not so much from the business of farming the taxes as from the other businesses to which this led.

The collection of a tithe in kind placed the publicans in the business of handling, transporting, and selling natural products, to facilitate which they probably demanded and received privileges, such as immunity from local and provincial customs dues, and free access to markets even in allied cities. A clause of the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* expressly exempts them from the customs dues of that town, and permits the transportation of their goods through its territory.<sup>33</sup> As private traders both they and many of their agents had doubtless transported wine, oil, and other products to the markets within and without the province. Since many of the cities never produced enough grain for themselves,<sup>34</sup> they probably furnished a ready market for the Phrygian and other tithes in grain and bought back or anticipated by cash payments the tithe on their own territories. The customs and pasture

<sup>30</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 20.

<sup>31</sup> He supported the demand of the publicans for remission of their contracts in 61 for reasons of policy and against his own sense of fairness, *Att.*, I, 17, 9; and likewise inclined to allow customs dues to be levied in each port on goods unsold in one and taken to another, *Att.*, II, 16, 4: *portorium circumvectionis*, although he believed they were really owed but once; he urges his brother to ask the cities not to stand too strictly upon the censor's law in their pacts with the publicans, *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 35; he himself noted with relief that the contracts were already made in Cilicia before he arrived, *Att.*, V, 13, 1, since he was taking Mucius Scaevola as his own model, VI, 1, 15; he did remit an excessive contract, *Fam.*, V, 20, 3-4, but apparently on reasonable grounds, not for favour.

<sup>32</sup> In *Fam.*, XIII, 9 he writes to the quaestor of Bithynia the names of the important men in the Bithynian company whose favour the latter may win by facilitating the business of their agent; and in XIII, 65 to Silius promises the favour of the members of the company farming the pasture tax.

<sup>33</sup> Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 38: *dum nei quid portori ab iis capiatur, qui publica populi Romani vectigalia redempta habebunt. Quos per eorum finis publicani ex eo vectigali transportabunt . . .*

<sup>34</sup> Note during the Republic, *Pro Flacco*, 17: Athenagoras of Cyme killed for venturing to export grain in a time of scarcity; *Att.*, V, 21, 8, a serious crop failure in the Phrygian dioceses of Cicero's province.



taxes were doubtless cash collections (*Fam.*, XIII, 65), the latter upon contracts with the communities. In the second place the necessities of towns or of individuals must have given an opportunity to profit by advancing the amount of the tax to a delinquent individual or community at the high rates of interest prevalent in the province or, taking advantage of his need to purchase supplies, by granting loans.<sup>35</sup> Thus the publicans also became money lenders and bankers, reinvesting in the provinces much of their surplus<sup>36</sup> on the same footing as the private business men. How far this process developed before the Mithridatic wars we have no evidence to say.<sup>37</sup> The publicans are listed among those who made use of their opportunities after the Sullan settlement and were affected when Lucullus brought relief to the provincials.<sup>38</sup> How far these business interests developed in the period of stricter supervision and occasional losses which followed is difficult to discover. In any case they were similar to and part of the development of the same interests among private Roman and Italian business men.<sup>39</sup> It appears also that experience in collecting taxes and the possession of a trained personnel enabled the publicans after the Lucullan and Pompeian settlements to compete against the natives for the collection of the local taxes; this seems to explain the interest of Falcidius in the revenues of Tralles in 62, where he bought a contract, so it was alleged, for 900,000 HS.<sup>40</sup> Since this had to be ratified by the

<sup>35</sup> See Vol. I, 244, 255 f., 342-7.

<sup>36</sup> Cicero deposited 2,200,000 HS (\$110,000) with the publicans at Ephesus in 51, *Fam.*, V, 20, 9; *Att.*, XI, 2, 3; they could therefore accept deposits. Cicero mentions that Servilius Isauricus (78-74) had maintained the interest rates written in the contracts of loans made by the publicans. His own practice was to appoint a day before which the debtors might avail themselves of the legal rate of his decree, 12%, but after which the original usurious rates of interest would apply—*Att.*, VI, 1, 16: *Usuras eorum quas pactionibus adscripserant servavit etiam Servilius. Ego sic. Diem statuo satis laxam, quam ante si solverint, dico me centesimas ducturum; si non solverint ex pactione.*

<sup>37</sup> Such loans undoubtedly caused cases of seizure of mortgaged lands and the sale of persons into slavery, but it is hard to believe that there was any real basis in 104 B. C. for the remark credited to the Bithynian king by Diodorus (XXXVI, 3): being asked for aid by Marius he answered that most of the Bithynians "had been kidnapped by the publicans and were serving as slaves in the Roman provinces" (*ὑπὸ τῶν δημοσιωνῶν διαρπαγέντας δουλεύειν ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις*).

<sup>38</sup> *Plut.*, *Luc.*, 7 and 20.

<sup>39</sup> See below.

<sup>40</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 91: *At fructus isti Trallianorum Globulo praetori venierant; Falcidius emerat HS nongentis milibus. Si dat tantam pecuniam Flacco (50 talents were alleged) nempe idcirco dat ut rata sit emptio; cf. Quint. Frat.*, I, 2, 6; see *A. J. P.*, LVII (1936), 175 f.; Vol. I, 344.

provincial governor, who had power to review the finances of the cities, but not to revise contracts let by the censors in Rome, it was presumably a contract for the collection of local taxes. Thus the private operations of the publicans in commerce, money lending, banking, and finally in the collection of local taxes contributed no small share both to their profits and to the ill will with which they were regarded.

We can make no estimate of the total amount of their profits, and only guess at the actual amount of the tax collections (see below). It is probable that their most profitable period came before the Mithridatic wars when the country was still unplundered, and their illegalities were less impeded. Extension of business activities may have provided some compensation afterwards, but they were better supervised. Their losses from 61 to 59 B. C. show that their margin of profit on the collections themselves was not then excessive. Cicero mentions communities in Cilicia that had paid the publicans nothing for some years.<sup>41</sup> Profits on local collections probably were figured on a commission basis of perhaps 10%.<sup>42</sup> Their speculative profits on the tithe as a whole, which varied with the yield of the crops, cannot be calculated as accurately as on that of Sicily. But since in Sicily the calculation of overhead and profit probably came to more than 10%<sup>43</sup> it is reasonable to suppose that, as the crops in the Asiatic provinces were more variegated and the yield less certain, Caesar's remission of one-third of the taxes when he abolished the system of taxfarming represents the average allowance of the publicans for expenses and profit, a gross sum, if our estimate (given below) of the taxes is correct, of about 4 to 5 million denarii a year (\$800,000–\$1,000,000). If they expected a net profit of 10%, then the normal annual net on all operations in Asia, Bithynia, and Cilicia in the time of Cicero would be from \$225,000 to \$325,000, the rest being chargeable to the expense of maintaining agents and handling products, etc. Such amounts divided annually among all the partners in the com-

<sup>41</sup> Att., VI, 2, 5: *populi autem nullo gemitu publicanis quibus hoc ipso lustro nihil solverant etiam superioris lustri <reliqua> reddiderunt*; Fam., II, 13, 3; and for 56 B. C. *De Har. Resp.*, 60: *vectigalibus non fruuntur qui redemerunt*. Note also their losses in 49-8 at Pompey's hands, Caes., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 32; 103.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Cic., *Pro Rab. Post.*, 30: *accessionem decumae, ut nostri facere coactores solent <in> centesima*. It is probable that the same principle would apply to other collections upon commission.

<sup>43</sup> See Vol. III, 256 f.; Schwahn, *Hermes*, LXX (1935), 475 f. estimates it at 20%. Note that Caesar had remitted a third of the Asiatic contracts in 59 B. C., Suet., *Jul.*, 20.

panies interested in Asia Minor would not give rise to many large fortunes. These estimates, I may add, are conjectural, and are inserted only to show the general scale of operations.

*Roman and Italian Business Men.* Along with the Romans and Italians engaged in public business, even anticipating them, and often simply the same persons in a private capacity, came considerable numbers of Italian and Roman traders, the *Ῥωμαῖοι* who were so important in Delos in the second century. The Gracchan legislation aided in opening Asia to them and they were active also in Bithynia even before the Mithridatic wars.<sup>44</sup> Their previous experience, knowledge of the country, and combination of Greek and Roman connections made these Italiote Greeks at once good agents for the publicans and successful traders on their own behalf. For the period before the first Mithridatic war we have not only general statements implying the widespread activity of more than 80,000 Italians in the province of Asia<sup>45</sup> but specific evidence for their presence in Pergamum, where seven Italic names appear in a list of ephebes of 133 B. C.,<sup>46</sup> in Chios, where Romans owned lands,<sup>47</sup> and in Cos,<sup>48</sup> Ephesus,<sup>49</sup> Adramyttium,<sup>50</sup> the interior of Lydia,<sup>51</sup> Priene,<sup>52</sup> Tralles, and Caunus.<sup>53</sup> Bithynians were being sold into slavery by Romans before 104<sup>54</sup> and the pressure of money lenders in the train of Aquillius and Cassius in 90 forced Nicomedes to make raids into Pontic territory.<sup>55</sup> There is no evidence from other territories in Asia Minor at this time.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The material from Delos is well discussed by Hatzfeld, *B. C. H.*, XXXVI (1912), 1 ff.; that from the Asiatic provinces by the same in *Les trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient hellénique*, Paris, 1919. See also Vol. I, 256, 274-278.

<sup>45</sup> App., *Mith.*, 23; Plut., *Sulla*, 24; Val. Max., IX, 2, ext. 3; Memnon, 31 (*F. H. G.*, III, 542); Posidonius in Athen., V, 213 a; Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, 7.

<sup>46</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII (1902), 106 ff.; cf. *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 294 (127 B. C.); App., *Mith.*, 23, 88 B. C.

<sup>47</sup> App., *Mith.*, 47: τὰ ἐγκτήματα Ῥωμαίων . . .

<sup>48</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 14, a refuge; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1078 (late II); *C. I. L.*, III, 12264 = *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1081, a Delian competeliast of 93 B. C.

<sup>49</sup> App., *Mith.*, 23; *Forsch. Ephes.*, II, no. 74.

<sup>50</sup> App., *l. c.*

<sup>51</sup> Pliny, *H. N.*, II, 209.

<sup>52</sup> *Inscr. v. Priene*, 123 (late II-early I).

<sup>53</sup> App., *l. c.*

<sup>54</sup> Diodorus, XXXVI, 3.

<sup>55</sup> App., *Mith.*, 11: πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα παρὰ τῶν ἐπομένων Ῥωμαίων δεδαιρισμένοι καὶ δαχλούμενοι.

<sup>56</sup> On L. Lutatius L. 1. Paccius thurarius de familia rege (sic) Mitredatis

The ready field for investment at high rates of interest created in Asia by the exactions of Sulla and Mithridates soon brought the business men back again. Even if Sulla greatly weakened the resources of the equestrian class in Rome the Campanians and south Italians who continued at Delos could quickly participate in trade and money lending again in Asia. Italian investments had become uncertain since the soldiers received their bonus in Italian lands. Soon the suppression of piracy revived commerce and new fields of exploitation were opened by Pompey's settlement of the East. Being the chief possessors of capital, the Roman and Italian traders and investors quickly became the leaders of business enterprise in the cities of Asia Minor (with the probable exception of Rhodes and Cyzicus which were allied and immune communities with independent traditions and an extensive commerce of their own), a position which they continued to hold until the empire restored equality of opportunity to the natives. The groups resident in the province formed unofficial associations called *conventus* with officers and a special organization which under the empire disappeared gradually as their members became assimilated to their neighbors and the Roman citizenship became more widely extended.

In the post-Sullan period we find two chief classes, residents and non-residents, of whom the former consisted largely of traders and bankers of lower social station and smaller wealth, while the latter might include persons of great wealth and high social position looking for investments, such as senators, knights, prominent Italian bankers like Cluvius, or Egnatius, or the art dealer Avienius, who acted through local agents with only occasional personal supervision. The growth of this Roman trade and investment was irregular and spontaneous; it became most important, so far as our evidence goes, before the war between Pompey and Caesar but continued to keep the same general characteristics into the period of Augustus. Accordingly, since it is a phenomenon of the republican rather than of the imperial system, I shall include here evidence from the reign of Augustus, leaving to the section on the Empire only a short discussion of the assimilation and disappearance of the resident traders.

(*O. I. L.*, VI, 5639), see Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 135; it seems better to suppose that he was formerly a slave in the king's household and brought to Rome by Lucullus or Pompey.

The account given above of the exactions of Mithridates and Sulla reveals the need of capital in Asia after 84 B. C. Plutarch's account of the sufferings of the debt-ridden native population which Lucullus relieved in 70<sup>57</sup> shows how quickly and how thoroughly Roman and probably also native money lenders had taken advantage of their need. The ease with which, given reasonable conditions, all the debts were paid shows how sound a field for investment the Asiatic provinces intrinsically were.<sup>58</sup> Other evidence of the speedy return of the Italian business men is at hand. There were groups of them in Lampsacus in 79, when Verres visited there,<sup>59</sup> and also in Laodiceia of Phrygia.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 7: τὴν Ἀσίαν . . . ἀφόρητα πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαϊκῶν δανειστῶν καὶ τελωνῶν; "afflicted past bearing by Roman moneylenders and taxgatherers"; *ib.*, 20: τὴν ἐπαρχίαν . . . ἄρρητοι καὶ ἄπιστοι δυστυχίαι κατεΐχον, ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ τῶν δανειστῶν πορθουμένην καὶ ἀνδραποδιζομένην, πιπράσκειν ἰδίᾳ μὲν υἱὸς εὐπρεπεῖς θυγατέρας τε παρθένους, δημοσίᾳ δ' ἀναθήματα, γραφάς, ἱεροὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀναγκαζομένων. αὐτοῖς δὲ τέλος μὲν ἦν προσθέτοις γενομένοις δουλεῦν, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτου χαλεπώτερα, σχοινισμοὶ καὶ κυγκλίδες καὶ ἱπποὶ καὶ στάσεις ὑπαιθροί, καύματος μὲν ἐν ἡλίῳ, ψύχους δ' ἐν πηλῶν ἐμβιβαζομένων ἢ πάγον, ὥστε τὴν δουλείαν σεισάχθειαν δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ εἰρήνην. "Unspeakable and incredible misfortunes were rife in the province. Its people were plundered and reduced to slavery by the taxgatherers and moneylenders. Families were forced to sell their comely sons and virgin daughters and cities their votive offerings, pictures, and sacred statues. At last men had to surrender to their creditors and serve them as slaves, but what preceded this was far worse—tortures of rope, barrier, and horse; standing under the open sky in the blazing sun of summer, in winter being thrust into mud or ice. Slavery seemed, by comparison, to be disburdenment and peace."

<sup>58</sup> *ib.*: πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἑκατοστὴν ἐκέλευσε καὶ μὴ πλέον εἰς τοὺς τόκους λογίζεσθαι· δεῦτερον δὲ τοὺς μακροτέρους τοῦ ἀρχαίου τόκους ἀπέκοψε· τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ μέγιστον, ἔταξε τῶν τοῦ χρεωφειλέτου προσδῶν τὴν τετάρτην μερίδα καρποῦσθαι τὸν δανειστήν. ὁ δὲ τόκον κεφαλῇ συνάψας ἐστέρητο τοῦ παντός: ὥστ' ἐν ἐλάσσονι χρόνῳ τετραετίας διαλυθῆναι τὰ χρεῖα πάντα καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἐλευθέρας ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς δεσπόταις. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κοινὸν δάνειον ἐκ τῶν δις μυρίων ταλάντων, οἷς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξημίωσεν ὁ Σύλλας: καὶ διπλοῦν ἀπεδόθη τοῖς δανείσασιν, ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀνηγμένον ἤδη τοῖς τόκοις εἰς δώδεκα μυριάδας ταλάντων. "In the first place he ordered that the monthly rate of interest should be reckoned at one per cent and no more; in the second place he cut off all interest that exceeded the principal; third, and most important of all, he ordained that the lender should receive not more than the fourth part of his debtor's income, and any lender who added interest to principal was deprived of the whole. Thus in less than four years' time the debts were all paid and the properties restored to their owners unencumbered. This public debt had its origin in the twenty thousand talents which Sulla had laid upon Asia as a contribution, and twice this amount had been paid back to the money lenders. Yet now, by reckoning usurious interest, they had brought the total debt up to one hundred and twenty thousand talents."

The province thus actually paid sums equal to the original loans twice over before 70 B. C., and now paid the amount of the loan with 12% interest or less during four years. On the special taxes Lucullus instituted, App., *Mith.*, 83, see below.

<sup>59</sup> Cic., *Verr.*, II, 1, 69: cives Romani, qui Lampsaci negotiabantur.

<sup>60</sup> *ib.*, II, 1, 73, the jury at the trial of Philodamus consisted of *togati*, creditors of the Greeks, who wanted a friendly governor.

Mithridates' lieutenant Eumachus killed many with their families in Phrygia in 74.<sup>61</sup> They were busy in Bithynia also in 81,<sup>62</sup> when the youthful Caesar came, and large numbers had to seek refuge at Chalcedon when Mithridates entered Bithynia in 74.<sup>63</sup> Cicero in 67 could speak of the numbers and importance both of the resident Romans and the non-resident investors, *Pro Leg. Man.*, 18: *Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines gnavi atque industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis, partim eorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent.* "Next there are active and energetic men of the other orders, some of whom are carrying on business in Asia in person, whose interests you ought to consult in their absence, some of whom possess large sums invested in that province."

We possess notices of associations<sup>64</sup> of Roman residents in Asia during the periods of Cicero and Augustus at Mitylene,<sup>65</sup> Methymna,<sup>66</sup> Chios,<sup>67</sup> Samos,<sup>68</sup> Cos,<sup>69</sup> Ephesus,<sup>70</sup> Pergamum,<sup>71</sup> Smyrna,<sup>72</sup> Erythrae,<sup>73</sup>

<sup>61</sup> App., *Mith.*, 75.

<sup>62</sup> Suet., *Jul.*, 2: *repetita Bithynia per causam exigendae pecuniae, quae deberetur cuidam libertino clienti suo*; *ib.*, 49, *accubantibus nonnullis urbicis negotiatoribus.*

<sup>63</sup> App., *Mith.*, 71.

<sup>64</sup> In Latin such associations were called *conventus*, and their presidents *curatores* or *magistri*; in Greek the terms differ, varying from *κατοικοῦντες* to *πραγματευόμενοι* 'Ρωμαῖοι, sometimes 'Ρωμαῖοι only. The term *συμπολιτευόμενοι* seems to indicate a closer relation of the Romans in a town to the native group, possibly even betraying an official act of colonization (see Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*; *T. A. P. A.*, LXVI [1935], 22-4). Kornemann and Schulten have failed to recognize the spontaneous and unofficial character of these associations.

<sup>65</sup> *C. I. L.*, III, 7160; cf. *I. G.*, XII, 2, 88 and 111, 258, 375, 428; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 33b, 100, 105.

<sup>66</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 4, 5.

<sup>67</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 943; cf., for individuals, 1703; Zolotas, *Αθηνά*, XX (1909), 241, no. 58; 272, no. 174; 249, no. 86; 351, no. 3.

<sup>68</sup> *C. I. L.*, III, 458; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 961, 991, 992; *B. C. H.*, II (1878), 181, no. 3; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV (1900), 146; XXXVII (1912), 209; *C. I. L.*, III, 7164; *C. I. G.*, 2260; distinctions here are made difficult by the establishment of a colony of uncertain date, *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 991.

<sup>69</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1087 (Augustan), 1077, 1079, 1080, 1092, 1101; *C. I. L.*, III, 12261; Paton, 131, 105 b, 179, 337; Herzog, *Koische Forsch.*, 50 a, 82, 84, 85, 127.

<sup>70</sup> *C. I. L.*, III, 14195<sup>ab</sup>; *Forsch.*, II, 58; cf. *Pro Flacco*, 31; Cass. Dio, LI, 20, 7 (Augustus). For individuals see Cic., *Fam.*, XIII, 69, 1; *I. B. M.*, 546, a Brundisian family; cf. *C. I. L.*, IX, 49, 50; *C. I. L.*, III, 424 = 14194, aqueduct of Sextilius.

<sup>71</sup> Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 71: *ubi multi cives Romani sunt*; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 315; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV (1899), 187, no. 48; 15 Italic names appear in ephebic catalogues between 80 and 29 B. C., *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII (1907), 433, 436, 438, 443, 456; XXXIII (1908), 395, 397-399, 411, 414; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 271; *B. C. H.*, XII (1888), 374; *C. I. L.*, III, 7094, 7095 (Elaea).

Teos,<sup>74</sup> Tralles,<sup>75</sup> Priene,<sup>76</sup> Cnidus,<sup>77</sup> probably at Magnesia<sup>78</sup> and Miletus,<sup>79</sup> Laodiceia,<sup>80</sup> Apameia,<sup>81</sup> Synnada,<sup>82</sup> Cibyra,<sup>83</sup> Ilium,<sup>84</sup> Sestos,<sup>85</sup> Lampsacus,<sup>86</sup> and in the Augustan period at Cyzicus too.<sup>87</sup> Outside the province of Asia there were associations at Nicaea<sup>88</sup> of Bithynia, Gangra<sup>89</sup> of Paphlagonia, Conana<sup>90</sup> of Pisidia, Mallos<sup>91</sup> of Cilicia. Besides these come notices showing that they were established in considerable numbers in Pontus where they suffered at the hands of Pharnaces,<sup>92</sup> in Galatia where they dealt with Deiotarus,<sup>93</sup> in Cicero's province of Cilicia, so numerous that he could hold a levy,<sup>94</sup> and in Cyprus,<sup>95</sup> where Cicero says they were few but Caesar implies that

<sup>74</sup> Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 71; *R. E. G.*, XIV (1901), 299, no. 10; and for individuals, *Pro Flacco*, 54, 75; *C. I. L.*, III, 6064, 6086, 7110; Hatzfeld, 109 f.

<sup>75</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1546, 1548; *C. I. L.*, III, 7112; cf. *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1545: L. Marius M. f. Aem. Caiata(nus).

<sup>76</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1579.

<sup>77</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 71; cf. below in Part II.

<sup>78</sup> *Inscr. v. Priene*, 112, 113, 114; cf. also *Pro Flacco*, 31; *Inscr. v. Priene*, 112, l. 1; 142, l. 3; 113, 114, 142, 626, 697, 698, 709, 710, 711, 713, 715, 730.

<sup>79</sup> *B. C. H.*, XXXIV (1910), 425 = XXXVI (1912), 667; cf. *L. W.*, 1572; *I. B. M.*, 839.

<sup>80</sup> *Inscr. Magnes.*, 118 (a building to which only Italians contributed), 111, 139, 141, 143, 154, 282, 286, 287.

<sup>81</sup> Twenty-four Italic names including names of Gessii, Samiarii, and Clodii on ephebe lists between 54 and 14 B. C., *I. B. M.*, 924, 925; *R. E. G.*, VI (1893), 189, 190, 195.

<sup>82</sup> Cic., *Verr.*, II, 1, 73-76; *C. I. L.*, III, 12242. See Part II on Hierapolis.

<sup>83</sup> *C. I. L.*, III, 365; cf. *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 804; *Att.*, VI, 3, 5.

<sup>84</sup> *C. I. L.*, I, 2 (2nd ed.), 2663, found at Volsinii: qui in dioicesi synna]dica negotiantur. Appiani [ . . .

<sup>85</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 903, 904, 905, 913, 916-919 of which some are post-Augustan; cf. *Fam.*, XIII, 21; 2; 27; Horace, *Epist.*, I, 6, 32; *B. C. H.*, XV (1891), 554.

<sup>86</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 190, 224.

<sup>87</sup> *B. C. H.*, IV (1880), 516.

<sup>88</sup> Cic., *Verr.*, II, 1, 69.

<sup>89</sup> Could local commercial rivalries explain the quarrel in which Cyzicenes put Romans to death and for which Augustus took away the autonomy of the town (Cass. Dio, LIV, 7, 6 [20 B. C.]?) Cf. *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 135.

<sup>90</sup> *C. I. L.*, III, 12223; Cass. Dio, LI, 20, 7; cf. *Fam.*, XIII, 61; *C. I. L.*, III, 14402 d.

<sup>91</sup> *Stud. Pont.*, III, 66 = *I. L. S.*, 8781 (6 B. C.) found at Neoclaudiopolis of Phazemonitis (Vezir Köprü).

<sup>92</sup> *S. E. G.*, II, 744 (late): οἱ ἐξ ἀρχαίου κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι.

<sup>93</sup> *C. I. L.*, III, 14177<sup>10</sup>; cf. *I. G. R. P.*, III, 888.

<sup>94</sup> *Caes.*, *Bell. Alex.*, 41 and 70.

<sup>95</sup> Cic., *Pro Deiot.*, 26.

<sup>96</sup> *Att.*, V, 18, 2; note also the Roman speculators whom he induced to release food for the cities after a crop failure, *Att.*, V, 21, 8.

<sup>97</sup> Cic., *Att.*, V, 21, 6: ne cives Romani pauci qui illic negotiantur ius sibi dictum

they were moderately numerous. There exist also indications that the various associations of Romans in Asia were in some degree interconnected.<sup>96</sup> They were subjected as a group to a general levy in 49 B. C.<sup>97</sup> Other evidence reveals a scattering of individual Romans not only in the cities where associations are known to have existed but in other towns of the province. Instances occur at Clazomenae,<sup>98</sup> Cyme,<sup>99</sup> Apollonis,<sup>100</sup> the village of . . . szedda,<sup>101</sup> Macedones Hyrcani,<sup>102</sup> Iasus,<sup>103</sup> Halicarnassus,<sup>104</sup> Acmonia,<sup>105</sup> Philomelium,<sup>106</sup> and in Pontus, in Phazemonitis and Diacopene.<sup>107</sup> The wilder parts of Pisidia, Isauria, and Cilicia Tracheia, as well as Cappadocia, probably still remained unattractive to Roman traders.

Explicit evidence regarding the trades and occupations of the resident business men is scarce in proportion to their numbers, merely yielding us examples which we hope are typical. There were land-owners in Chios<sup>108</sup> and Cos<sup>109</sup> attracted by the profitable vineyards there, probably in Lesbos too, and so necessary to the prosperity of the towns that Sulla in Chios and Caesar in Mitylene compelled them to share in civic taxes and liturgies.<sup>110</sup> The aftermath of the Sullan settlement must have transferred many properties to Roman possession, but no particular instances are traceable.

negarent. Caes., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 103; cf. Plut., *Cato Minor*, 36 on the sale of Ptolemy's effects in 58.

<sup>96</sup> As we shall see, individuals carried on business affairs in several places at once; note at Laodiceia, *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 860: *οι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ῥωμαῖοι*, a phrase which, as in *O. I. L.*, X, 1797: *mercatores qui Alexandr(i) Asi(i) Syri(i) negotiantur*, merely indicates the general fields in which many were interested; cf. at Ephesus, *O. I. G.*, 2957, and *I. B. M.*, 517, II A. D.

<sup>97</sup> Caes., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 32: *neque minus . . . civibus Romanis eius provinciae . . . certae pecuniae imperabantur*.

<sup>98</sup> Horace, *Sat.*, I, 7: Persius Hybrida.

<sup>99</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1302 (Augustan); cf. *Pro Flacco*, 46.

<sup>100</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 51, 71; cf. *K. P.*, II, nos. 96, 97.

<sup>101</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1357.

<sup>102</sup> *Ib.*, 1355.

<sup>103</sup> *O. I. L.*, III, 7154.

<sup>104</sup> *O. I. G.*, 2665.

<sup>105</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 36.

<sup>106</sup> Cic., *Fam.*, XIII, 43, Oppius, a resident agent of the banker Egnatius; cf. 44, 45, 73, 74.

<sup>107</sup> *Stud. Pont.*, III, pp. 178 f.

<sup>108</sup> See notes 47, 67.

<sup>109</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1087: *το[ι] ἐνεκτῆμένοι καὶ τοὶ γεωργεῦντε[s] ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ καὶ Πέλῳ, τῶν τε πολειτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετοίκων*.

<sup>110</sup> See notes 65, 66; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 943; 33.



The most notable example is that of Appuleius Decianus of Apollonis and Pergamum, a business man, described in 59 as already thirty years a resident, who became owner of the estate of Lysanias of Temnus after it had been pledged to him as security for a loan at a high rate of interest, and through collusion with a guardian, whose appointment he had himself secured, acquired the properties in Apollonis of the women-folk of a certain Amyntas.<sup>111</sup> Curtius Mithres, freedman of Curtius Postumus, was engaged in a dispute about property at Colophon.<sup>112</sup> L. Genucilius Curvus acquired land at Parium,<sup>113</sup> perhaps by foreclosing a mortgage. Vaccius Labeo of Cyme bequeathed some land to the city.<sup>114</sup> The Romans at the village of . . . szedda in Lydia were probably landowners.<sup>115</sup>

The evidence for the traders also fails to give an adequate picture of their activities. They probably joined the native traders in 59 in protesting against the *portorium circumvectionis*<sup>116</sup> and so were engaged in local coasting trade. The master of an association at Ephesus bought an oil cellar open to the south.<sup>117</sup> His name, Veturius Rhodo, reveals at once connections with Delos and with Atina, the center of the oil producing region of Latium. Horace's *Satire* (I, 7) gains much in wit and point if we assume that Persius Hybrida of Clazomenae was a wine merchant.<sup>118</sup> Marius of Caieta appears at Erythrae.<sup>119</sup> It is no accident that the inscription jointly set up by "those who do business in Alexandria, Asia, and Syria" was found

<sup>111</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 51: pecuniam adolescentulo grandi faenore, fiducia tamen accepta, occupavisti. Hanc fiduciam . . . tenes hodie ac possides. Eum tu testem spe recuperandi fundi paterni venire . . . coegisti. *Ib.*, 72: huius (Amyntas) socrum, mulierem imbecilli consili, satis locupletem, pellexit Decianus ad sese et, cum illa quid ageretur nesciret, in possessione praediorum eius familiam suam collocavit. Cf. 73-80.

<sup>112</sup> *Cic., Fam.*, XIII, 69: in ea controversia quam habet de fundo cum quodam Colophonio.

<sup>113</sup> *Ib.*, 53: id iuris in agris, quod ei Pariana civitas decrevit et dedit.

<sup>114</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1302: *ἔνθεντα δὲ καὶ τὸ βαλάνηον τοῖς νέοις καὶ πρὸς τὰν εἰς αὐτὰ χορηγίαν ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις αὐτῷ κτήσις ἐν Ζυμαργῇ, καὶ ἐπισκεύσαντα τὸ γυμνάσιον.*

<sup>115</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1357. These could possibly be Augustan colonists.

<sup>116</sup> *Cic., Att.*, II, 16, 4: in hac re malo universae Asiae et negotiatoribus; nam eorum quoque vehementer interest.

<sup>117</sup> *Forsch. Eph.*, II, no. 74: P. Veturius, P. l., Rodo, m[a]lg(ister) in emendum doliariu[m] . . . meri[?]di[a]num ded[it] ex de[c]retu co[n]legei; cf. *B. O. H.*, XXXVI (1912), 90; *O. I. L.*, X, 5077, 5121, 5122; *Cic., Fam.*, II, 18, 1.

<sup>118</sup> Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat Clazomenis. . . . At Graecus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto, Persius exclamat.

<sup>119</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1545.

at Puteoli.<sup>120</sup> The lists compiled by Hatzfeld reveal among the residents in Asia families whose names were already familiar at Delos and who had South Italian connections. Such were the Paconii in Cos,<sup>121</sup> Veturius and the Apulian family of the Gerillani in Ephesus,<sup>122</sup> the Delian Gessii and Clodii at Miletus, a Delian Audius at Halicarnassus, Ollius at Pergamum, Oppius at Philomelium.<sup>123</sup> Among others attracted to Cibyra for its fine embossed iron ware was the art dealer of Sicyon and Athens, M. Aemilius Avianus, who resided at Cibyra for four years.<sup>124</sup> A certain Cluvius, probably a member of the Puteolan family, is found at Magnesia on the Maeander.<sup>125</sup> That Etruscan and Umbrian connections were also involved is shown by the inscription of Volsinii mentioning the business men of Synnada, and that at Mevania of Rubrius Rubella, "a Gallic and Asiatic business man."<sup>126</sup> The businesses of all of these cannot be defined, but traffic in the products of the province, oil and wine and figs, wool from Miletus and Phrygia, and fine iron work from Cibyra, are at least included. Grain merchants appear only among the speculators<sup>127</sup> with whom Cicero had to deal in Cilicia in 51 but must have been common in Phrygia and the Cabalia. We find a seller of purple in Cos<sup>128</sup> and a fuller at Magnesia on the Maeander.<sup>129</sup>

Among the many bankers and money lenders we may first mention the group of creditors of the Greeks that tried the case of Philodamus of Lampsacus in 79, one of whom was also prosecutor.<sup>130</sup> Appuleius Decianus has been mentioned above. Castricius of Smyrna is a good instance, a member of a family of which one appears in Rome, one in Sicily, several at Delos, while he himself was known for his loan

<sup>120</sup> *C. I. L.*, X, 1797.

<sup>121</sup> *B. C. H.*, XXXVI (1912), 63; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1081 = *C. I. L.*, III, 12264; *Cic.*, *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 19; on Veturius see note 117.

<sup>122</sup> *B. C. H.*, XXXVI (1912), 37, 133; *C. I. L.*, IX, 49, 50, 122, 224, 6123; *I. B. M.*, 546.

<sup>123</sup> *B. C. H.*, XXXVI (1912), 39, 27, 17, 60. See note 79; *C. I. G.*, 2665; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 488; *Cic.*, *Fam.*, XIII, 43, 44.

<sup>124</sup> *Fam.*, XIII, 21; cf. 2 and 27; VII, 23, 1-3; see note 83.

<sup>125</sup> *Inscr. Magn.*, 139; see below.

<sup>126</sup> *C. I. L.*, I<sup>3</sup> (ed. 2), 2663; XI, 5068: negotiator Gallicanus et Asiaticus.

<sup>127</sup> *Cic.*, *Att.*, V, 21, 8: Quacumque iter feci . . . perfecti ut Graeci et cives Romani, qui frumentum compresserant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur.

<sup>128</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1071.

<sup>129</sup> *Inscr. Magn.*, 111.

<sup>130</sup> *Cic.*, *Verr.*, II, 1, 73 f.

to Tralles.<sup>131</sup> Sextilius of Acmonia, from whom Asclepiades could borrow 206,000 drachmae, was a wealthy money lender, probably a member of a family known in Delos, Chalcis, Naxos, and Ephesus.<sup>132</sup> The Gerillani, being bankers in Delos, were probably bankers also in Ephesus.<sup>133</sup> Other residents engaged in money lending merely as agents, such as Oppius of Philomelium for Egnatius,<sup>134</sup> and Scaptius, Gavius, and Matinius for Marcus Brutus,<sup>135</sup> Euthydemus in Ephesus for Cluvius the banker,<sup>136</sup> agents of the Roman house of the Fufii,<sup>137</sup> and of Atticus at Ephesus, and perhaps at Apollonis too.<sup>138</sup>

The investments of the non-residents turned of course less to trade, which requires personal supervision, than to land and loans. Public loans to cities and princes were apparently preferred, if our evidence is typical. Among the owners of land appear Caerellia,<sup>139</sup> a certain Maeculonius,<sup>140</sup> P. Septimius,<sup>141</sup> A. Trebonius<sup>142</sup> in Cilicia, probably also L. Octavius Naso<sup>143</sup> whose heir was L. Flavius the praetor designate of 59 B. C., and perhaps T. Annius Milo<sup>144</sup> in the Chersonese. Some Romans in official position were not above turning a penny as traders. Malleolus, Dolabella's quaestor in Cilicia in 79, came prepared not only to make loans but to purchase wines and other products of the country.<sup>145</sup> Verres in turn seized these, shipped away the wine and other goods, in fact used the fortune of Malleolus as it was intended to be used, but did so for his own benefit; he apparently profited

<sup>131</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 54, 75; cf. *Att.*, II, 7, 5; XII, 28, 3; 30, 2 (Rome); *Verr.*, II, 3, 185 (Sicily); *B. C. H.*, XXXVI (1912), 24 (Delos).

<sup>132</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 34-5: *Dixit publice data drachmarum CCVI. . . . Ab A. Sextilio dicit se dedisse et a suis fratribus. Potuit dare Sextilius.* Cf. *ib.*, 84: the wife of Sextilius Andro was a client of Flaccus; *B. C. H.*, XXXVI (1912), 78 (Delos); *I. G.*, XII, 9, 916 (Chalcis); *I. G.*, XII, 5, 39 (Naxos); *C. I. L.*, III, 424 = 14194 (Ephesus).

<sup>133</sup> *I. B. M.*, 546, cf. 533, 573 (Ephesus); *B. C. H.*, XXXVI (1912), 37 (Delos); *C. I. L.*, IX, 49, 50, 122, 224, 6123 (Brundisium).

<sup>134</sup> *Fam.*, XIII, 43, 44.

<sup>135</sup> *Att.*, V, 21, 10 f.; VI, 1, 5 f.; 2, 7 f.; 3, 5 f.

<sup>136</sup> *Cic.*, *Fam.*, XIII, 56.

<sup>137</sup> *Cic.*, *Pro Flacco*, 46-48.

<sup>138</sup> *Cic.*, *Att.*, V, 13, 2.

<sup>139</sup> *Cic.*, *Fam.*, XIII, 72; she was also the heir of C. Vennonius.

<sup>140</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 46.

<sup>141</sup> *Id.*, 88.

<sup>142</sup> *Fam.*, I, 3, 1.

<sup>143</sup> *Quint. Frat.*, I, 2, 10 at Apollonis.

<sup>144</sup> *Att.*, VI, 1, 19; 5, 2; cf. *A. J. P.*, LIV (1933), 66 f.

<sup>145</sup> *Verr.*, II, 1, 91-2; Verres collected 2,500,000 HS from the sale.

from his requisitions in office in a similar way. Others were equally ready to carry on business while in office. Nicomedes of Bithynia owed money at interest to members of the staff of the Roman generals; <sup>146</sup> Verres had business in Bithynia when he came to Lamp-sacus. <sup>147</sup> Cicero's legate in Cilicia, M. Annius, had a dispute, probably over borrowed money, with the people of Sardis. <sup>148</sup> Pompey's official loan to Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia has been discussed in Vol. I (388 f.) along with the later private investments of Marcus Brutus. Among the bankers engaged in Asiatic investments L. Egnatius Rufus <sup>149</sup> had agents at Philomelium and interests both in Bithynia and Asia. Cicero's friend Cluvius of Puteoli lent money to five cities of Caria—Mylasa, Alabanda, Heracleia, Bargylia, and Caunus—and held a mortgage on the property of Philotes of Alabanda. <sup>150</sup> It appears that some of the funds belonged to Pompey who was employing Cluvius as an agent. The bankers, Marcus and Gaius Fufius, made loans in Rome to Heracleides of Temnos and when he failed to pay, their agent appeared in Asia to collect from his surety and fellow townsman, Hermippus. <sup>151</sup> This loan was apparently made before the passage of a Gabinian law in 67 forbidding borrowing by provincials in Rome. The law was either intended to prevent a further flow of capital from Italy or was connected with the financing of Pompey's campaign in 67. In either case the emergency soon passed and by 56 exceptions were being made. <sup>152</sup> Atticus' interests in Asia required a trip in 54 and we find him in 51 busy collecting a debt through his agents there. Cicero provided himself with money by cashing orders on Atticus' agents in Ephesus. <sup>153</sup> T. Pinnius lent 8,000,000 HS to Nicaea of Bithynia. <sup>154</sup> Cicero's friend and host at Brundisium, M. Laenius

<sup>146</sup> App., *Mith.*, 11.

<sup>147</sup> Verr., II, 1, 63.

<sup>148</sup> Fam., XIII, 55.

<sup>149</sup> Fam., XIII, 43, 44, 45, 47, 73, 74.

<sup>150</sup> Fam., XIII, 50: Μυλασείς et Ἀλαβανδαίς pecuniam Cluvio debent . . . praeterea Philotes Alahandensis ὑποθήκας Cluvio dedit (security for the city's loan?) . . . praeterea Heracleotae et Bargylitae, qui item debent, . . . Caunii praeterea debent, . . . agitur res Cn. Pompei etiam, nostri necessari. On the connections of Cluvius cf. Att., VI, 2, 3; XIII, 46, 3; XIV, 9, 1; C. I. L., X, 1572, 1573; B. C. H., XXXVI (1912), 28.

<sup>151</sup> Pro Flacco, 46-48.

<sup>152</sup> See Vol. I, 347-8; Att., V, 21, 12; VI, 2, 7; A. J. A., XLI (1937), 248 f.; for another view, O. A. H., IX, 345.

<sup>153</sup> Att., IV, 15, 2; 16, 7; V, 13, 2; 20, 10.

<sup>154</sup> Fam., XIII, 61.

Flaccus, had interests in Bithynia and in Cilicia where he requested Cicero to give his agent a prefectship to aid him in forcing payments.<sup>155</sup> Pompey's interests went beyond the loans mentioned above; he asked Cicero to appoint his agent a prefect to aid collections in Cilicia, and was probably interested in the estate of Pompeius Vindullus of Apameia.<sup>156</sup> Luceius and Sestius both had funds due them in Cilicia.<sup>157</sup> C. Valerius Flaccus, governor of Asia in 62, was accused of appropriating part of the Asian estate of a relative, Valeria, wife of Sextilius Andro.<sup>158</sup> Others whose interests cannot be characterized are Atilius,<sup>159</sup> T. Aufidius Lurco,<sup>160</sup> A. Caecina,<sup>161</sup> M. Coelius Rufus,<sup>162</sup> Curtius Postumus,<sup>163</sup> M. Feridius,<sup>164</sup> M. Marcilius,<sup>165</sup> P. Messienus,<sup>166</sup> L. Nostius Zoilus,<sup>167</sup> T. Pinarius,<sup>168</sup> Servilius Strabo,<sup>169</sup> P. Vedius,<sup>170</sup> and L. Valerius.<sup>171</sup>

Much has been said about the greed of the Italian traders, money lenders, and investors, and some of it is true, but their coming was not altogether a loss to the provinces. They brought capital when capital was needed to a country that in normal times could well repay investments in her land, her industries, and her commerce. The traders helped to increase the market for her products and to keep her workshops busy. Difficulties were mainly due to the special exactions and hardships of the Mithridatic and the civil wars, in which it is particularly apparent that the Roman traders suffered no less from requisitions than the natives (see below under Caesar, etc.). In the end the resident Romans who had come to exploit the provincials for their profit stayed to identify their interests with them. By the time

<sup>155</sup> *Fam.*, XIII, 63; *Att.*, VI, 1, 6; V, 20, 8.

<sup>156</sup> *Ib.*, VI, 1, 6; 1, 25.

<sup>157</sup> *Fam.*, V, 20, 5.

<sup>158</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 84 ff.

<sup>159</sup> *Fam.*, XIII, 62 (Bithynia).

<sup>160</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 86.

<sup>161</sup> *Fam.*, VI, 7, 5; 8, 2; XIII, 66.

<sup>162</sup> *Fam.*, VIII, 2, 2; 4, 5; 8, 10; 9, 3; 11, 4, all on Sittius' bond; cf. II, 12, 2.

<sup>163</sup> *Fam.*, XIII, 69; *Att.*, IX, 5, 1; 2 a, 3.

<sup>164</sup> *Fam.*, VIII, 9, 4.

<sup>165</sup> *Ib.*, XIII, 54.

<sup>166</sup> *Ib.*, 51.

<sup>167</sup> *Ib.*, 46.

<sup>168</sup> *Att.*, VI, 1, 23.

<sup>169</sup> *Fam.*, XIII, 64.

<sup>170</sup> *Att.*, VI, 1, 25.

<sup>171</sup> *Fam.*, III, 1, 3; I, 10.

of Augustus we find them, like Sextilius of Ephesus, building aqueducts,<sup>172</sup> or like Vaccius of Cyme, endowing the gymnasiums<sup>173</sup> of their new home towns. They join in the local offices, feasts, and religious rites,<sup>174</sup> accept the local systems of education,<sup>175</sup> and intermarry with the non-citizens among whom they live.<sup>176</sup> The Italian exploiters of one generation in the Asiatic provinces became the partners in the general revival of Greek activity in the next. A great many of the non-resident landholders and investors of Cicero's day must have lost their properties and investments during the civil wars and the proscriptions. Since much of the property was sold again, it merely changed hands. No great change in the general situation resulted.

*Native Business Interests.* The general discussion of the evidence relating to the native trade, banking, investments, and fortunes in Asia Minor, which were temporarily overshadowed by the activities of the Italian and Roman business men, can best be postponed to the corresponding chapters in Part II. It seems pertinent however to insert here a few examples from the republican period in Asia. According to Cicero Asia excelled in the multitude of goods for export,<sup>177</sup> much of which must have been carried by native traders on native ships. I have elsewhere (p. 566) offered a conjectural estimate of 25-40 million dollars of trade per annum in the ports of Asia. Some of the coastal trade affected by the *portorium circumvectionis* was native.<sup>178</sup> Cicero mentions Greeks as well as Romans who were holding grain after a crop failure in Cilicia, speculating for a rise in prices.<sup>179</sup> Bottomry

<sup>172</sup> *O. I. L.*, III, 14194 = 424.

<sup>173</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1302.

<sup>174</sup> Note as an example Aulus Aemilius Zosimus of Priene who was first a resident alien, then a citizen, then a magistrate of the town, *Inscr. v. Priene*, 112, 113, 114 (early and middle first century B. C.). Such examples could be multiplied from the period of Augustus and the early empire.

<sup>175</sup> See notes 46, 71, and 79 on the Italic names in the ephebic lists at Pergamum and Miletus. Note also the tribute paid at Priene to the work of Zosimus (note 174) as Director of Elementary Education (*paedonomus*).

<sup>176</sup> Cf. *O. I. G.*, 3142, l. 33 (Smyrna), Apollonius, son of Publius, of Catania, Apollonia, daughter of Dionysius, of Apameia, his wife.

<sup>177</sup> *Pro Leg. Man.*, 14: Asia vero tam opima est ac fertilis ut et ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum et magnitudine pastionis et multitudine earum rerum quae exportentur facile omnibus terris antecellat.

<sup>178</sup> *Cic., Att.*, II, 16, 4: in hac re malo universae Asiae et negotiatoribus; nam eorum quoque vehementer interest.

<sup>179</sup> *Cic., Att.*, V, 21, 8.

loans are mentioned in the inscription of Ephesus of 85 B. C. (quoted below). The effect of the period of piracy and the probable revival of commerce between 67 B. C. and the outbreak of civil war should be mentioned. Significant too are the ports from which ships could be gathered by Lucullus in 86-84, by Pompey in 49-48 B. C., and by Brutus and Antony later on; so too, the numbers they were able to gather.<sup>180</sup> Mithridates and Sulla caused enormous losses of capital but by no means withdrew it all. We have seen that native money lenders probably made up some of the Sullan indemnity, and that after 70 when Lucullus gave her reasonable conditions Asia paid the debt with comparative ease. Many sacred treasures had been sold in 84,<sup>181</sup> but there are references to the ancient treasures in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus in 49,<sup>182</sup> in that of Artemis of Perga in 79,<sup>183</sup> at Priapus of Mysia in 74,<sup>184</sup> and gifts came as usual to Apollo of Didyma.<sup>185</sup> Pompey in 49 and 48 was able to collect much from the cities of the province; so too, Caesar in 48 and 47, and Brutus and Cassius in 43 found a considerable amount of coin and plate. Some cities, like Pergamum, provided much money; Rhodes, which previously escaped aggression, yielded 8,000 talents, and Tarsus 1,500.<sup>186</sup> It is probable that Brutus and Antony between them did really take all the available funds in the provinces. Before 49 B. C., however, the removal of stored-up capital by exactions, confiscations, income on investments, and tribute had been partially compensated by the return of Roman capital for investment, and by the probable natural balance of trade in favour of Asia in times of peace and normal commerce. The final catastrophe of the civil wars of course made necessary a cancellation of debts by Augustus, and left most of Asia bankrupt for a generation.

*The Cistophoric Coinage.* The Roman coinage doubtless was always legal tender in the provinces of Asia Minor, but the coinage established and popularized by the Pergamene kings, the cistophori,<sup>187</sup> remained

<sup>180</sup> See Vol. I, 356; below pp. 571 ff.

<sup>181</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 20.

<sup>182</sup> Caes., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 33: *depositas antiquitus pecunias*; 106.

<sup>183</sup> Cic., *Verr.*, II, 1, 54.

<sup>184</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 13.

<sup>185</sup> Haussoullier, *Études*, 209, no. 10.

<sup>186</sup> See below on Pompey, Brutus, Cassius, and Antony.

<sup>187</sup> The basic treatise on the cistophoric coinage is Pinder, *Über die Cistophoren*, Berlin, 1856; see Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, 535 and under the cities mentioned; cf. also,

in regular use. This was a silver coinage minted on the Rhodian standard, which also remained in favour in southwestern Asia Minor, equal to three-quarters of the corresponding Attic unit, the drachma, and of the Roman denarius; it provided western Asia Minor with a common currency. Under the kings these coins were issued from mints at Parium, Pergamum, and Adramyttium in Mysia, Phocaea, Ephesus, and Smyrna in Ionia, Apollonis, Nysa, Sardis, Stratoniceia on the Caicus, Thyatira and Tralles in Lydia, and Apameia, Laodiceia, and Synnada in Phrygia. Apparently most of these cities ceased to issue cistophori soon after 133 B. C., but whether it was due to Rome's refusal to extend minting privileges, to the exigencies of war and confiscation, to Roman misgovernment, or simply to the decline of commerce as the pirates and brigands grew stronger we do not know. The war with Aristonicus can account for the cessation of Apollonis, Phocaea, Stratoniceia, and Thyatira. Tralles ceased by 126 B. C.; we have few from Synnada, Laodiceia, and Apameia; Nysa ceased by 111 B. C., Sardis by 112, and Smyrna by 90, and the presumption is that the undated series of Pergamum and Adramyttium did also. Ephesus alone shows an unbroken series until 67 B. C., the curious break in which from 67-58 is followed by the beginning of proconsular issues, no longer purely civic issues, both there and at Tralles, Laodiceia, and Apameia.<sup>188</sup> These ceased with the outbreak of civil war only to be revived later in another form in the cistophoric medallions of Antony and Augustus. The break in the coinage of Ephesus was probably connected with the Gabinian Law of 67 preventing borrowing at Rome by provincials, with the embargo on the export of gold and silver from Italy in 63, and with the retention in Asia in 62 of the Jewish gold meant for the temple at Jerusalem, possibly also with the huge funds voted to Pompey. The proconsular issues show that by 58 the coinage of silver had come under the supervision of the Roman government. The cessation of mints did not mean that the cistophoric coinage was immediately abandoned. Pompey left large sums in cistophori in Asia at the disposal of the government in 62 and

under the cities named, the British Museum Catalogues for Mysia, Ionia, Lydia, and Phrygia; Von Fritze, *Die Antiken Münzen Mysiens*; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen*; *Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*; Babelon, *Invent. sommaire Coll. Waddington*; Regling, *P. W.*, XI, 1, 524 ff.

<sup>188</sup> On this break see *A. J. A.*, XLI (1937), 248 f.; cf. Vol. I, 304, 322, 347 f.



the quaestors at Rome wished to pay the allowance of Quintus Cicero in Asia from it,<sup>189</sup> apparently to his disadvantage. What remained from the allowance of Cicero himself was deposited in cistophori in Ephesus.<sup>190</sup> Since three denarii normally weighed  $180 \pm$  grains (11.644 grammes) and a cistophorus (4 Rhodian drachmae)<sup>191</sup> of full weight contained  $192 \pm$  grains (12.441 grammes), the apparent advantage in exchange lay with the Roman coins and it becomes difficult to explain the continued popularity and survival of the cistophorus except on the ground of Asian conservatism, especially as the Romans apparently demanded some other advantages also for the denarius in exchange.<sup>192</sup>

*Other Issues of Coinage.* Other issues during the period were the gold coins of Tralles, Ephesus, Pergamum, Miletus, Smyrna, and Erythrae, minted during the first Mithridatic war to celebrate their liberty; the aurei and denarii of Sulla and his lieutenants (84); aurei (62-1) and denarii (49-8) of Pompey; denarii and aurei of Caesar; aurei, denarii, and quinarii of Brutus and Cassius; cistophoric medallions and some bronzes of Antony and his lieutenants; and the same of Octavian.<sup>193</sup> These were for the most part coined from Asiatic collections and booty to pay soldiers and meet other expenses. We shall discuss later the bronze coinage struck locally to supply the need of small change. No silver was minted in Bithynia and Pontus; in Pamphylia Aspendus, Perge and Side minted silver on the Attic standard up to the Empire, Side being the mint for King Amyntas of Galatia. Many of these coins were overstruck as cistophori. Although a little gold and some silver was being mined,<sup>194</sup> much of the supply came from stored-up treasure or from commercial activity.

*Some Examples of Business Activity.* The great body of evidence

<sup>189</sup> Cic., *Att.*, II, 6, 2: *equae spes sit denari an cistophoro Pompeiano iaceamus?* Cf. II, 16, 4; *De Domo*, 52.

<sup>190</sup> *Att.*, XI, 1, 2.

<sup>191</sup> Festus, 492L: *Talentorum non unum genus. Atticum est sex milium denarium: Rhodium et cistophorum quattuor milium et quingentorum denarium.* Cf. listed weights of examples in the British Museum catalogues.

<sup>192</sup> Cic., *Fam.*, II, 17, 7: *se ait curasse ut cum quaestu populi pecunia permutaretur.*

<sup>193</sup> See Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, under these cities and the corresponding pages in the British Museum Catalogues; on the coinage of the commanders see Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, II, 445 ff.

<sup>194</sup> See Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX (1904), 268 ff. on Balia Maden.

on banking and investment will be discussed in Part II. Here I insert two documents illustrating the difficult situation of the cities in the Ilian league after the first Mithridatic war; and one which forms part of the Ephesian decree of 85, and yields at once a lively picture of the business life of Ephesus and of the disturbances caused by the city's attempt to match the radical program of Mithridates. To this I add a short discussion of the mortgage inscriptions of Mylasa and Olymus and some notices on rates of interest charged on mortgages and loans.

*I. G. R. P.*, IV, 193, after 85 B. C.: Εἰ δέ τινες ἐγγραφαὶ γεγένη[ν]ται ἢ ὀφειλήματα κατὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἀγνοθετῶ[ν] καὶ τῶν ἀρξάντων ἢ διαχειρισάντων τι τῶν κοινῶν τῶν τῇ[ν] ἐπίσχεσιν πεποιημένων, ἤρθ[αι τ]αῦτα καὶ ἄκυρα εἶναι. τῶν δὲ ἀγνοθετῶν οἱ μὴ καταβεβλη[κότε]ς τὰ χρήματα ἀποδότωσαν ἢ ἐλάβωσαν ἐν τῇ καθήκοντι χρόνῳ. Ἀποστειλάτωσαν δὲ α[ἱ] πόλεις τὰ εἰθισμένα διάφορα ἐν[ὸς] ἐνιαυτοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων διαφόρων [ν ἐ]κ τῶν προτέρων ἐτῶν τῶν εἰθισ[μένων] ν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καταφέρουσ[θα]ι, ὧν τὴν ἐποχὴν ἐποίησαντ[ο]. . . .

"Any existent registrations or debts against cities, masters of the games, magistrates, or managers of any of the public business now in default shall become null and void. Masters of the games who have not paid their contributions shall pay such sums as they have received when they fall due. The cities shall send the customary contributions of a single year but the remaining contributions, usually paid annually, of former years which they have held up (shall be wiped off the books)."

*S. E. G.*, IV, 664 = *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 197, 77 B. C.: τῶν χρημάτων, ὧν ὀφείλουσιν αἱ πόλεις τῇ θεῇ, φέρειν τόκους ἐξηκοστοῖς ἐφ' ἑτῇ δέκα ἐπεὶ πάντες εὐδόκησαν διὰ τὰς τῶν πόλεων θλίψεις· τῶν δὲ προγεγενημένων ἐτῶν παρῆσθαι τὰς πόλεις πάσας τῶν τόκων καὶ μὴ εἶναι πρακτὰς κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον, διελθόντος δὲ τοῦ προγε[γρ]αμμένου χρόνου εἶναι τοὺς πεντεκαιδεκάτους τόκους, καθὼς ὁ νόμος περ[ιέ]χει.

"Since all have agreed on account of the afflictions of the cities, the money which the cities owe the goddess shall bear interest at one sixtieth ( $1\frac{2}{3}\%$ ) for ten years; they shall let the interest of the past years go and be in no way liable for it, but at the end of the aforementioned period the interest shall be at one fifteenth ( $6\frac{2}{3}\%$ ) as the law demands."

These inscriptions refer to the contributions of the cities of the league of Ilium to the support of the festival of Athena of Ilium. The contributions were based on the loan of a certain capital belong-

ing to the goddess upon which the cities paid a definite rate of interest. (See Vanseveren, *Rev. Philol.*, X [1936], 249 ff., on *C. I. G.*, 3599 = Laum, *Stiftungen*, II, 65.)

*S. I. G.*<sup>3</sup>, 742, II. 28 ff. (85 B. C.): τοὺς μὲν ἐγγεγραμμένους <ἢ παρα-  
[γεγραμ]μένους> ὑπὸ λογιστῶν ἱερῶν ἢ δη[μ]οσίων ὠτινιοῦν τρόπῳ πά[λιν εἶ]ναι  
ἐντίμους καὶ ἡκυρῶσθαι τὰς κ[α]τ' αὐτῶν ἐκγραφὰς καὶ ὀφειλήμ[ατα]. τοὺς δὲ  
παραγεγραμμένους πρὸς ἱ[ερ]ὰς καταδίκας ἢ δημοσίας ἢ ἐπίτειμα ἱερὰ ἢ δημόσια  
ἢ ἄλλα ὀφειλήματ[α] ὠτινιοῦν τρόπῳ παρῆσθαι πάντας καὶ εἶναι ἀκύρους τὰς κατ'  
αὐτῶν πράξεις. εἰ δὲ τινες ἔνευσιν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς μισθώσεσιν ἢ δημοσίαις ὠναῖς μέχρι  
τοῦ νῦν, τούτοις ἐστάναι τὰς πράξεις κατὰ τὰς προὔπαρχούσας οἰκονομίας κατὰ τοὺς  
νόμους. ὅσα δὲ ἱερὰ δεδάνευσται, πάντας τοὺς ὀφείλοντας καὶ χειρίζοντας ἀπολελύσθαι  
ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων, πλὴν τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν συστημάτων ἢ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
ἐκδανεισ[τ]ῶν ἐπὶ ὑποθήκαις δεδανεισμένων· τούτων δὲ παρῆσθαι τοὺς τόκους ἀπὸ  
τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ ἕως ἂν ὁ δῆμος εἰς καλλίονα παραγένηται κατὰσ[τα]σιν. καὶ  
εἰ τινες πεπολιτογράφηται μέχρι τῶν νῦν χρόνων, εἶναι πάντες ἐ[ν]τίμους καὶ τῶν  
αὐτῶν μετέχειν φιλανθρωπῶν. λελύσθαι δὲ καὶ εἶναι ἀκύρου[ς] τὰς τε ἱερὰς καὶ  
δημοσίας δίκας, εἰ μὴ τινὲς εἰσιν ὑπὲρ παρορισμῶν χώρας ἢ διαμφ[ω]βητήσεως  
κληρονομίας ἐξευγμέναι. . . . line 50: προελθόντες δὲ εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ οἱ δεδαν-  
εῖκοτες τὰ συμβόλαια τὰ τε ναυτικὰ καὶ κατὰ χειρόγραφα καὶ κατὰ παραθήκας καὶ  
ὑποθήκας καὶ ἐπιθήκας καὶ κατὰ ὥγας καὶ ὁμολογίας καὶ διαγραφὰς καὶ ἐκχρήσεις  
πάντες ἀσμένως καὶ ἐκουσίως συνκαταθέμε[νοι] τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς χρεω-  
φ(ε)ιλέτας τῶν ὀφειλημάτων μενουσῶν τῶν [ἐμβάσεων κ]αὶ διακατοχῶν παρὰ τοῖς  
νῦν διακατέχουσιν, εἰ μὴ τινες ἢ ἐνθάδε ἢ ἐπ' ἐ[τέρας γῆς ξ]ένοις δεδανείκασιν ἢ  
συνηλλάχασιν. τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τραπεζεῖ[τας] ὅσα μὲν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἐ[φ'] ἔτος ἐνιαυτῷ  
τεθηματίκασιν ἢ ἐκχρήσεις εἰλήφασιν ἢ ἐνέ[χυρα δεδώκασιν, ἐστά]ναι αὐτοῖς τὰς  
πράξεις τὰς προὔπαρχούσας κατὰ τοὺς [νόμους. ὅσα δὲ ἐστὶν θέμα]τα ἢ ἐκχρήσεις  
ἐκ τῶν ὑπεράνω χρόνων, τούτων [οἱ τραπεζεῖται τοῖς θεματεῖτα]ις καὶ οἱ θεματεῖται  
τοῖς τραπεζεῖταις τὰς ἀ[ποδόσεις ποιείσθωσαν ἀπὸ] τοῦ εἰσίκονδόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐν  
ἔτεσιν δέ[κα, τοὺς δὲ τόκους ἀποτινέτωσαν κατὰ τ]ὸ ἀνάλογον.

“All registered (as debtors) in any way by the sacred or the public accountants shall be restored to full rights, and registrations and debts against them shall be null and void; any listed for judgments sacred or public, or fines, sacred or public, or other debts in any way shall all be released, and actions based on these shall be invalid, but actions based on previously existent arrangements shall stand according to the laws for all who are named in the sacred leases (of land of Artemis) and the public tax contracts. With respect to loans of sacred funds all debtors and agents are released from their obligations except in the case of funds lent upon mortgages by boards (of magistrates or priests) or by money-lenders designated by them, and upon these the interest shall be remitted from the coming year until the people meet with bet-

ter times; all persons upon the citizen roll up to the present time shall have full rights and share in these privileges. Cases at law, sacred and public, shall be voided except those dealing with misbounding of property and disputes about inheritances. . . . l. 50: The lenders of money upon bottomry loans, notes, deposits, mortgages, supplementary pledges, tax contracts, agreements, drafts, and loans came forward before the people and gladly and voluntarily agreed to release debtors from their obligations, while preserving for present possessors rights of possession and of entrance into possession; not included were those who made loans and contracts with foreigners here and elsewhere. As for the bankers, all deposits made, loans received, or pledges given during the current year shall be liable to the actions previously valid according to the laws, but on all deposits or loans of the previous period bankers shall make payments to depositors and depositors to bankers within ten years from the coming year and shall pay interest accordingly."

A series of inscriptions dating from the second and the first centuries B. C. found at Mylasa and Olymus<sup>195</sup> throws some light on conditions of sale and lease of land. Typical among these perhaps is LeBas-Waddington, no. 416; and *B. C. H.*, V (1881), 108 ff.: Thraseas sold two pieces of property, one which he inherited and one which he bought from Artemisia of Ketembissa, to the trustees of Zeus Osogo for 7,000 and 5,000 Rhodian drachmae respectively. These he then received back on a heritable lease for a rent of 300 and of something less than 200 drachmae, respectively, per annum. The return on the purchase price would in one case be 4.28%, in the other probably about 4. At Olymus (L. W., 331 and 332) the people decided to use some funds belonging to Apollo and Artemis to purchase land in Kybima from Thargelius, son of Hybreas; the trustees took a sum of 4,000 drachmae from the banker Sibilus, and from Euthydemus an unknown sum, purchased the land, and granted an hereditary leasehold to a tenant who had to pay a yearly rental<sup>196</sup> amounting to not

<sup>195</sup> The documents from Mylasa and Olymus are published and in many cases republished, with revisions, in L. W., 323-338, 414-416; *B. C. H.*, V (1881), 107 ff.; XII (1888), 21 ff.; *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV (1889), 367 ff.; XV (1890), 273 ff.; *Sitz. B. Wien*, CXXXII (1895), 2, 4 ff.; *B. C. H.*, XIX (1895), 559 f.; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI (1896), 119 f.; *B. C. H.*, XXII (1898), 361 ff.; *A. B. S. A.*, XXII (1917-18), 190 ff.; *B. C. H.*, XLVI (1922), 397 ff. Cf. Billeter, *Gesch. d. Zinsfuss*, 85 f.

<sup>196</sup> L. W., 332: *μισθῶσαι αὐτὰ εἰς] πατρικὰ ἐνοθήκης τε μὴ ἐλάσσονας τῶν ἡμισῶ[ν δια]φόρων τῆς τιμῆς [τῶν ἐγχαίρων . . .*

less than half of the interest on the price of the land. Thus we have some ground for assuming that cash loans were expected to yield twice as large an income as investments in land and that the rate on one was about 8, on the other about 4% per annum. These inscriptions may not be generally typical, however, since in the late second and early first century landowners may have been desirous of placing their land under the protection of the temples, and the temples near the sea, in view of the threat of piracy, may have been eager to invest their funds in land rather than hold them in cash. A later inscription from Olymus (*S. E. G.*, II, 565) describes the purchase of land by the trustees of the temple with a loan of 7,000 drachmae for twelve months, the money to be repaid out of the future revenues of the temple with interest at six obols per mina per month (12% per annum).

*Rates of Interest.* We have noticed the low rates of interest implied in the inscriptions of Mylasa and Olymus above, and the larger rate of 12% in the later one from Olymus. This was the rate permitted by Lucullus in 70 B. C.<sup>197</sup> and by Cicero in 51, though Cicero also permitted the interest to be compounded annually.<sup>198</sup> This we may assume was the regular rate in the middle of the first century. It is apparent that Servilius Isauricus had permitted more.<sup>199</sup> The conditions of 84-70 B. C. permitted usurious rates. For a debt of 20,000 talents in 84 to become 120,000 in 14 years, as Plutarch says it did,<sup>200</sup> required an average interest rate of over 14%, assuming that the total amount of interest was defaulted and added on to the principal each year. Since the original principal had been paid twice over, it is evident that the average rate was much higher than 14%. Pompey's demands in 49 sent interest rates up in Asia.<sup>201</sup> Brutus' loan at 48% (4% per month

<sup>197</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 20: ἐκατοστὴν ἐκέλευσε καὶ μὴ πλέον εἰς τοὺς τόκους λογίζεσθαι. The cities of the league of Ilium could set their own rate.

<sup>198</sup> Cic., *Att.*, V, 21, 11: cum ego in edicto translaticio centesimas me observaturum haberem cum anatocismo anniversario; cf. VI, 1, 5; 2, 7; 3, 5.

<sup>199</sup> *Att.*, VI, 1, 16: usuras eorum quas pactionibus ascripserant servavit etiam Servilius.

<sup>200</sup> App., *Mith.*, 63; Plut., *Luc.*, 20: ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κοινὸν δάνειον ἐκ τῶν δισμυρίων ταλάντων, οἷς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξημίωσεν ὁ Σύλλας· καὶ διπλοῦν ἀπεδόθη τοῖς δανείσασιν, ὅπ' ἐκείνων ἀνηγμένον ἤδη τοῖς τόκοις εἰς δώδεκα μυριάδας ταλάντων. "This public debt had its origin in the 20,000 talents which Sulla had laid upon Asia as a contribution, and twice this amount had been paid back to the moneylenders. Yet now, by reckoning usurious interest, they had brought the total debt up to 120,000 talents."

<sup>201</sup> Caes., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 32: gravissimae usurae, quod in bello plerumque accidere consuevit universis imperatis pecuniis.

compounded monthly) to Salamis of Cyprus could be justified only by very hard times and poor security. It apparently allowed his agents to demand in 50 B. C. almost 200 talents for a loan that under Cicero's rule amounted only to 106.<sup>202</sup>

*Revenues, Requisitions, and Expenditures.* The revenues of the provinces in Asia Minor consisted of the tithe, the customs dues, the pasture tax, and the rents of the public lands, which certainly included some, if not all, of the salt pans, mines and quarries, and coastal fisheries. Besides these we find notices of an uncertain group of taxes on houses, doors, columns, slaves, etc., which may be local but were in some cases at least used to satisfy imperial demands. There may also have been contributions from the client kings. The total amount of the revenues of these provinces has been most plausibly estimated by Böttcher at about 10,000,000 denarii<sup>203</sup> from Asia after Caesar and perhaps as much as 15,000,000 before him, while probably less in proportion to the total area came from Cilicia, no more from Bithynia. Since Asia surpassed the other provinces, which hardly paid the cost of their defence (*Pro Leg. Man.*, 14, 67 B. C.),<sup>204</sup> it probably produced a goodly proportion of the total revenue of 50,000,000 denarii received yearly by Rome before 62.<sup>205</sup> Sulla's exaction of 20,000 talents (120,000,000 denarii) covered the tribute of five years together with the expenses to Sulla of the First Mithridatic war.<sup>206</sup> Although this gives us little indication of the actual amount of the Asiatic tribute, it does prove the absurdity of estimating as a year's tribute the 16,000 talents (96,000,000 denarii) which Appian says that Appuleius

<sup>202</sup> For calculations and critical discussions see Tyrrell and Purser, *Cicero's Correspondence*<sup>2</sup>, III, 337 ff.; T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic*, II, 328 f. It seems impossible to determine the amount of the original principal, since presumably some interest had been paid since 56 B. C. when the loan was made.

<sup>203</sup> Böttcher, *Die Einnahmen der römischen Republik im letzten Jahrhundert ihres Bestehens*, diss. Leipzig, 1915; cf. Chapot, *Prov. Rom. Proc.*, 324 ff.

<sup>204</sup> Nam ceterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt ut eis ad ipsas provincias tuendas vix contenti esse possimus, Asia vero tam opima est, etc.

<sup>205</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 45: ὅτι πεντακισχίλια μὲν μυριάδες ἐκ τῶν τελῶν ὑπῆρχον, ἐκ δὲ ὧν αὐτὸς (Pompey) προσεκλήσατο τῇ πόλει μυριάδας ὀκτακισχιλίας πεντακοσίας λαμβάνουσιν. "Whereas the public revenues from taxes had been fifty million drachmas, they were receiving after the additions which Pompey had made eighty-five million."

<sup>206</sup> Appian, *Mith.*, 62: πέντε ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσυνεγκεῖν αὐτίκα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, ὅση τε γέγονέ μοι καὶ ἔσται καθισταμένῳ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα. For the sum, Plut., *Sulla*, 25; *Luc.*, 20.

brought to Brutus in 44-3.<sup>207</sup> It is equally absurd to believe that the astronomical sum of 200,000 talents (1,200,000,000 denarii), which Hybreas a year or two later, protesting against fresh demands, said that Asia had given Antony, represents with some exaggeration the amount of his (previous) demand for the tribute of nine years.<sup>208</sup> I suspect that Appian has confused the sum which Appuleius actually brought to Brutus, 500,000 denarii,<sup>209</sup> with some estimate of the total tribute for ten years which Brutus and Cassius exacted. The annual tribute would then amount to 1,600 talents in 43 and probably an average of 2,400 talents (14,000,000 denarii) before Caesar's reform in 47.<sup>210</sup> Comparison with Sicily, which paid 4,000,000 denarii on one-fifth of the area, but possessed a greater proportion of arable land

<sup>207</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 75: ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου στρατιῶν τέ τινα εἰλήφει, δὴν Ἀπουλήιος εἶχεν, καὶ χρήματα ἐς ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια τάλαντα, ὅσα ἐκ τῶν φόρων τῆς Ἀσίας συνείλεκτο, παρῆλθεν ἐς Βοιωτίαν. "When he had received from Apuleius certain soldiers which the latter had under his command, together with 16,000 talents in money which Apuleius had collected from the tribute of Asia, he passed into Boeotia" (cf. III, 63; IV, 5). There is some confusion here since Caesar's war chest could not have been at Brutus' disposal, and the exactions from Asia came a year later; see note 209.

<sup>208</sup> Plut., *Ant.*, 24: ταῖς πόλεσι δεύτερον ἐπιβάλλοντος φόρον, ἐτόλμησεν Ὑβρέας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγων . . . συναγαγὼν ὅτι μυριάδας εἰκοσι τάλαντων ἢ Ἀσία δέδωκε. "When he was imposing a second contribution on the cities Hybreas, speaking in behalf of Asia, plucked up courage . . . added that Asia had given him 200,000 talents." On the demands of Brutus and Cassius and Antony cf. App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 74: ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος . . . ἐπέταττεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν τῆς Ἀσίας ἅπασιν φόρους ἐτῶν δέκα συμφέρειν. "Cassius . . . nevertheless ordered all the other peoples of Asia to pay ten years' tribute" (in spite of the sums taken at Rhodes); V, 5: (Antony) ἀ γὰρ ἔδοτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς ἐν ἔτεσι δύο (ἔδοτε γὰρ φόρους δέκα ἐτῶν), ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἀρκέσει μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ ἔτει. "What you contributed to our enemies in two years (and you gave them the taxes of ten years in that time) will be quite sufficient for us; but it must be paid in one year." Cf. 6: καὶ τέλος παρακαλοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐννέα ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσνεγκεῖν ἔτεσι δύο. "Finally the Asiatics by their entreaties prevailed that the amount should be reduced to nine years' taxes, payable in two years."

<sup>209</sup> Plut., *Brutus*, 24 (at Athens 44 B. C.): πυθόμενος πλοῖα Ῥωμαϊκὰ μεστὰ χρημάτων ἐξ Ἀσίας προσφέρεσθαι καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπιπλεῖν ἄνδρα χαρίεντα καὶ γνώριμον, ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ περὶ Κάρυστον ἐντυχὼν δὲ καὶ πείσας καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ πλοῖα. "Having learned that Roman transports full of treasure were approaching from Asia and that an accomplished and well-known man was in command of them, he went to meet him at Carystus. After conferring with him and persuading him to hand over the transports . . ." 25: Ἐκ τούτου πεντήκοντα μὲν αὐτῷ μυριάδας Ἀντίστιος ἀφ' ὧν ἦγε καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Ἰταλίαν χρημάτων δίδωσιν. "After this Antistius gave him 500,000 drachmas from the moneys which he was personally taking to Italy." Antistius is a mistake for Appuleius, Cic., *Philippics*, X, 24; XIII, 32: Apuleiana pecunia Brutum subornastis; Vell. Pat., II, 62, 3; cf. note 207; Cass. Dio, XLVII, 21, 3.

<sup>210</sup> Plut., *Caesar*, 48: πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦσι τὸ τρίτον τῶν φόρων ἀρῆκεν. "For all the inhabitants of Asia he remitted a third of their taxes"; cf. note 17.

than Asia, supports this estimate; but probably the most important bit of evidence is a passage of Philostratus regarding the tribute of Asia under Hadrian, *Vit. Soph.*, II, 1 (548):<sup>211</sup> "But when the outlay (on the aqueduct of Alexandria Troas) had reached 7,000,000 drachmae the officials who governed Asia kept writing to the emperor that it was a scandal that the tribute received from 500 cities should be spent on the fountain of one." As 500 cities means the province of Asia<sup>212</sup> and the tribute was during this period at times considerably in arrears,<sup>213</sup> the anecdote supports the estimate given above. As additional evidence regarding the scale of taxation we may note that the local taxes on the territory of the wealthy city of Tralles amounted to 900,000 HS (225,000 denarii)<sup>214</sup> in 62 B. C. and that before 166 B. C. Rhodes collected 120 talents (720,000 denarii) from the port of Caunus and the large territory of Stratoniceia of Caria.<sup>215</sup> No estimate of the total sum paid from Asia during our period can be attempted. Asia paid little at first, and much more after the Gracchan legislation. The estimate given above probably represents the taxes of a good year about 60 B. C. when the yield was greatest.

If one reckons the Phrygian dioceses as part of Asia the area of Cilicia before Pompey amounted only to 8,200 square miles, much of which was mountainous, and some, like Termessus, tax free. The tribute, even including that of Pamphylia, must have been practically negligible before 67. The increased area after 62 (14,000 square miles) contained more mountains and a stretch of Lycæonian desert with only Cilicia Pedias capable of adding much to the revenues of Rome. This portion however was taxed on the scale and in the manner of Syria, which included a 1% property tax,<sup>216</sup> and must therefore have con-

<sup>211</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ἑπτακοσίας μυριάδας ἡ δαπάνη προῦβαιεν ἐπέστελλόν τε τῷ αὐτοκράτορι οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιτροπεύοντες, ὡς δεινὸν πεντακοσίων πόλεων φόρον ἐς μίαν πόλιν δαπανᾶσθαι κρήνην.

<sup>212</sup> Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, II, 10, 4; Philost., *Apoll. Tyann. Epist.*, 58 (I. 362 K.).

<sup>213</sup> Cass. Dio, LXIX, 8. The evidence supporting Böttcher's suggestion that the province itself had been diminished before the time of Hadrian is invalid, *T. A. P. A.*, LXV (1934), 235.

<sup>214</sup> Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 91: At fructus isti Trallianorum Globulo praetore venierant; Falcidius emerant nongentis milibus; cf. *A. J. P.*, LVII (1936), 175 f.

<sup>215</sup> Polyb., XXX, 31, 7: παρὰ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀμφοτέρων ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τέλαντα τῷ δήμῳ πρόσδοσις ἔπιπτε καθ' ἑκάστον ἔτος.

<sup>216</sup> App., *Syr.*, 50. These extra taxes explain why the new territories paid so much more in proportion than the old. For the wealth of Tarsus note *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 64; Cassius collected 1,500 talents there.



tributed more in proportion to its area than the rest of the province. The proportion of tax to area on the whole must have been considerably smaller than in Sicily, so I suggest 2,000,000 denarii as a possible total. The new province of Bithynia and Pontus (about 30,000 square miles) contained several important trading cities and considerable areas of productive soil in the valleys, especially about Nicaea, Prusa, and in Pontus, but there was a great deal of mountainous territory and the development of the country lagged behind that of Asia. A conjectural estimate would suggest a tribute of about one-third of the Asiatic total or 5,000,000 denarii in 60 B. C. Syria paid by far the greatest portion of the 35,000,000 denarii a year which Pompey added to the revenues of Rome. We have no means of knowing the amount of the tribute, if any, paid by the client kings. Cicero in 51 said that Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia had no revenues.<sup>217</sup> The client kings were called upon for military aid and any that had previously opposed Rome were probably compelled to pay tribute besides.<sup>218</sup>

Of the three chief taxes levied the tithe brought in the largest sums, the customs probably a considerable amount, and the pasture tax least.<sup>219</sup> It is hardly safe to guess at the proportions or the amounts involved. The tithe and the publicans have been discussed above. The major portion of the 10,000,000 denarii which Böttcher estimates for the total revenue from the customs must have come from the active commercial ports of the east, especially after the customs dues in Italy were abolished in 60. Cicero in 67 praises especially the customs of Asia.<sup>220</sup> After making allowance for the importance of Syria one might assign to the harbours of Cilicia, Asia, and Bithynia-Pontus from 30 to 40% of the total amount received after 62 B. C., an annual sum of perhaps 4,000,000 denarii. The rate charged was  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ ,<sup>221</sup> a tariff for revenue, not protection, and the tax was farmed.

<sup>217</sup> Cic., *Att.*, VI, 1, 3: nullum enim aerarium, nullum vectigal habet. He was heavily in debt to Pompey and Brutus besides.

<sup>218</sup> App., *Mith.*, 118 does not prove it, since almost all the peoples he mentions were previously tributary. For levies and contributions from client kings in the wars see below.

<sup>219</sup> Cicero names these taxes together in *Pro Leg. Man.*, 15 and *Pro Flacco*, 19: quibus . . . scriptura decumae portorium morti; "who consider our pasture tax, tithe and customs dues as murderous"; cf. *Lex. Agr.*, II, 80.

<sup>220</sup> *Pro Leg. Man.*, 14: Asia vero tam opima est ac fertilis ut . . . multitudine earum rerum quae exportentur omnibus terris antecellat.

<sup>221</sup> Suet., *Vesp.*, 1: publicum quadragesimae in Asia egit. "He was collector of

If this estimate is reasonably correct, it implies at a rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  a volume of dutiable trade in the ports of the provinces of Asia Minor of 160,000,000 denarii a year. This is not an impossible figure since Athens expected a yield of 1,500 talents (9,000,000 dr.) from her 5% tax on the imports and exports of her empire in 413.<sup>222</sup> This implies a volume of trade of 180,000,000 dr. Rhodes at the height of her prosperity before 166 B. C., when the seas were well policed, and she was the chief center for ships proceeding north, west, and east, received an income of 1,000,000 dr. a year from harbour dues of 2%.<sup>223</sup> The value of her trade therefore amounted to more than 50,000,000 dr. a year. We do not know whether the goods of the publicans were as free from imperial taxes as they were from local customs dues. The total annual volume of trade of the ports of Asia Minor may well have been as high as 200,000,000 denarii once it recovered from the menace of the pirates.

We can make no estimate of the amounts involved in the pasture tax. This apparently was not levied only upon users of public land; otherwise there would have been no need for contracts with cities.<sup>224</sup> Public lands, judging from Cicero's list in 63, were unexpectedly small in amount, consisting of but one piece from the Attalid inheritance, the lands added by Servilius Isauricus, with the recent additions of the royal lands (i. e. private properties of the kings) of Bithynia and Pontus.<sup>225</sup> These lands were leased by the censors and subject to both tithe and rent,<sup>226</sup> but the amount apparently was not great and the revenues correspondingly small. Litigation with the publicans at Priene regarding the salt pans of Athena, and Cicero's mention of large staffs maintained by them in the *salinae*<sup>227</sup> show that some of the saltworks were leased as sources of public revenue; so too, were certain coastal fisheries. Sacred fisheries of Artemis of Ephesus had to be withdrawn from the publicans; and under the Empire there was a customs office of the fisheries there.<sup>228</sup> Whether sea fisheries like

the public tax of  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  in Asia." We infer that the rate was the same in Asia under the Republic, despite the fact that it was 5% in Sicily, *Verr.*, II, 2, 185. Inscriptions mention the  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  tax in Asia, Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia under the empire.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Glotz, *Ano. Greece at Work*, 313 for the calculations involved.

<sup>223</sup> Polyb., XXX, 31, 12.

<sup>224</sup> Festus, 448 L, and against him Cic., *Fam.*, XIII, 65. For Cilicia see *Att.*, V, 15, 4.

<sup>225</sup> See pages 509 ff.; 526.

<sup>226</sup> Cic., *Leg. Agr.*, II, 55; see discussion in *J. R. S.*, XVII (1927), 144 of such land in Sicily; Vol. III, 233, 242, 333.

<sup>227</sup> *Inscr. v. Priene*, 111, ll. 112 ff.; 117; see note 3; Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, 16; *familias maximas quas in salinis habent*.

<sup>228</sup> See note 1; cf. for Ephesus, *Jahreshefte*, XXVI (1930), 51: *οι ἀλεις και ὀψαριοπῶλαι τὸν τόπον λαβόντες ψηφίσματι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τελωνίον τῆς ἰχθυικῆς κατασκευάσαντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκαν* (Nero); *O. G. I. S.*, 496 (Antoninus Pius).

the tunny catch in the Euxine and Propontus were liable to imperial taxation we do not know. According to Strabo (VII, 6, 2) that at Byzantium "afforded both the Byzantines and the Roman People considerable revenue." Note at Cyzicus the presence of fishermen's guilds both before and during the Roman régime. Such mines and quarries as had been royal domain may have been either neglected or sold into private hands. The quarries of Docimium, for instance, were little worked before Augustus, and at that time apparently belonged to Agrippa.<sup>229</sup> The active market for coloring matter did induce publicans before Strabo's time to work the realgar mines near Pompeiopolis, but the dreadful conditions of labour rendered these unprofitable.<sup>230</sup> Cicero makes no mention of large staffs in the mines and quarries. Regular Roman revenues therefore from public lands, salt, fisheries, mines, and quarries probably amounted to no significant sum.

Both the character and the amount of the poll taxes, and taxes upon doors, houses, slaves, columns, etc., remain obscure. Lucullus in 70 B. C. imposed upon the Asiatic communities emergency taxes on slaves and house property besides a 25% tax on crops.<sup>231</sup> Whether such taxes were known before or invented then, I should be inclined to consider them as essentially local, even when imposed to meet special imperial demands. This would explain the mention in the Phrygian dioceses of Cilicia in 51 of "poll taxes commanded" to meet the special demands of the previous governor, Appius Claudius; <sup>232</sup> Cicero also speaks

Fishermen's guilds appear at Cyzicus, *A. M.*, X (1885), 205 (pre-Roman); *J. H. S.*, XXIV (1904), 32, no. 43.

<sup>229</sup> Strabo, XII, 8, 14: *κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν μικρὰς βώλους ἐκδιδόντος τοῦ μετάλλου, διὰ δὲ τὴν νυγὶ πολυτέλειαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κίονες ἐξαιροῦνται μονόλιθοι μεγάλοι.* "At first the quarry yielded only stones of small size, but on account of the present extravagance of the Romans great monolithic pillars are taken from it." On Agrippa, *C. I. L.*, XV, p. 988; *P. W.*, III A, 2278 f. s. v. "Steinbruch."

<sup>230</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 40: *Εἰργάζοντο δὲ δημοσιῶναι, μεταλλευταῖς χρώμενοι τοῖς ἀπὸ κακουργίας ἀγοραζομένοις ἀνδραπόδοις. . . καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκλείπεσθαι συμβαίνει πολλάκις τὴν μεταλλείαν διὰ τὸ ἀλυσιτελὲς πλείωνων μὲν ἢ διακοσίων ὄντων τῶν ἐργαζομένων συνεχῶς δὲ νόμοις καὶ φθοραῖς δαπανωμένων.* "The mine used to be worked by publicans, who used as miners the slaves sold in the market because of their crimes . . . (There follows an account of the deadly character of the work.) What is more, the mine is often left idle because of the unprofitableness of it, since the workmen are not only more than two hundred in number but are continually spent by disease and death."

<sup>231</sup> App., *Mith.*, 83. *καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτὸς ἐπαυελθὼν, ὀφείλουσαν ἔτι τῶν Συλλεῶν ἐπιβολῶν, τέταρτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς καρποῖς, τέλη δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ὥριξεν.*

<sup>232</sup> Cf. Vol. I, 344; Cic., *Att.*, V, 16, 2: *imperata ἐπικεφάλια*; *Fam.*, III 7, 2-3; XV, 4, 2; *Att.*, VI, 2, 4.

of "the bitterly resented exaction of the poll tax and the door tax" as if they were local collections.<sup>233</sup> Similar impositions, this time on the whole province, by Metellus Scipio for war purposes in 49 are mentioned by Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, III, 32:<sup>234</sup> "Sums of money meantime were most harshly demanded and exacted throughout all the province. Many kinds of extortion, moreover, were specially devised to satisfy their greed. Tribute was imposed on the person of each slave and each freeman; column taxes, door taxes, . . . were demanded." Taxes on slaves, columns, and doors are in effect a graduated property tax. Poll taxes appear again in the imperial period as local taxes at Tenos, Andros, and in the province of Asia at Lampsacus.<sup>235</sup> The yearly property tax of 1% of the assessed value levied in Appian's time in Syria and Seleucid Cilicia was probably an old levy inherited by the Romans and continued in their system.<sup>236</sup>

In return for these revenues it was the duty of the Roman government to provide for the defence of the provinces and the support of the governor and his staff. During the Republic they met these obligations irregularly and at times permitted abuses. All expenses except actual entertainment of the governor and his staff were supposed to be met out of the governor's allowance, the *ornatio provinciae*, even the entertainment being lessened by the Julian Law of 59 to hay, wood, and salt.<sup>237</sup> Each *ornatio* took account of the army required in the province. Cicero's pleasure on learning in 51 that his army had already been paid to July 15 is quite explainable;<sup>238</sup> so much less burden upon his allowance.

<sup>233</sup> *Fam.*, III, 8, 5: me de isto sumptu legationum aut minuendo aut remittendo decrevisse nil nisi quod principes civitatum a me postulassent ne, in venditionem tributorum et illam acerbissimam exactionem, . . . capitum atque ostiorum inducerentur sumptus minime necessarii. Local taxes will be discussed more fully in Part II, ch. II; cf. *Pro Flacco*, 32, 44, 91.

<sup>234</sup> Interim acerbissimae imperatae pecuniae tota provincia exigebantur. Multa praeterea generatim ad avaritiam excogitabantur. In capita singula servorum ac liberorum tributum imponebatur; columnaria ostiaria . . . imperabantur.

<sup>235</sup> *I. G.*, XII, 5, 724 and 946; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 181.

<sup>236</sup> *App.*, *Syr.*, 50: ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σύρου καὶ Κιλικίης ἐτήσιος, ἑκατοστὴ τοῦ τιμήματος ἐκάστῳ; cf. *G. A. H.*, VII, 193 f.

<sup>237</sup> *Cic.*, *Att.*, V, 16, 3: Scita non modo nos foenum aut quod lege Julia dari solet non accipere sed ne ligna quidem; V, 21, 5; Tyrrell and Purser, *Cicero's Corresp.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 327 f. On Rome's general responsibility see Cicero's argument that tribute is pay for defence, *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 34. On the *ornatio* of Mucius Scaevola see *C. R.*, LI (1937), 8 ff.

<sup>238</sup> *Att.*, V, 14, 1: seditio militum sedata ab Appio stipendiumque eis usque ad Idus Quintilis persolutum.

The size of the army during the republican period in Asia Minor was very irregular. There were few troops, perhaps a full legion in all, there in 88.<sup>239</sup> Sulla brought and withdrew five legions of Italian troops, leaving the two legions of Fimbrians in Asia under Murena.<sup>240</sup> Servilius Isauricus, whose total force is unknown, left two legions in Cilicia, since Lucullus in 74 by adding one fresh legion made up an army of five in the east (30,000 foot and 1,600-2,500 cavalry).<sup>241</sup> Marcius Rex had three legions in Cilicia in 68.<sup>242</sup> How many Pompey added after the pirate war is unknown, but calculations based on the division of booty give him 45,000-50,000 men in 66; these included all but 1,600 of the army of Lucullus.<sup>243</sup> There is no mention of an army in Asia under Quintus Cicero (61-59) or in Bithynia during the same period, but some forces were surely required, if only to put down brigandage.<sup>244</sup> The 18th legion served in Cilicia in 56,<sup>245</sup> but there was probably at least one other, since Cicero in 51 inherited two, both well below strength.<sup>246</sup> He recruited from among resident Romans. Crassus' adventure in 53 had probably drawn legions from other provinces as well as recruits from Italy. Despite the danger from the Parthians, the prospect of war with Caesar kept supplementary forces from being sent to the East. If each legion of full strength cost 1,000,000 denarii per annum to maintain, the provinces of Asia Minor, with a normal force of from one to two legions each, probably had an average expenditure in peace times of 1-2,000,000 denarii each year upon the army. War expenses had admittedly been met from booty.<sup>247</sup>

The civil wars ushered in conditions which no regular revenues could meet. Pompey rallied the Syrian and Cilician legions, Cicero's two becoming one legion of full strength. Lentulus recruited two more

<sup>239</sup> Appian's numbers, *Mith.*, 17, are impossible; cf. Memnon, 31 (*F.H.G.*, III, 541).

<sup>240</sup> App., *Mith.*, 51, 64.

<sup>241</sup> Sallust, *Hist.*, II, 47 M; Plut., *Luc.*, 8; App., *Mith.*, 72.

<sup>242</sup> Sallust, *Hist.*, V, 14 M.

<sup>243</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 35 f.; cf. T. Rice Holmes, *Roman Republic*, I, 408 f., 427 ff.; Vol. I, 324.

<sup>244</sup> Cic., *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 25.

<sup>245</sup> Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2224.

<sup>246</sup> Cic., *Att.*, V, 15, 1: *me nomen habere duarum legionum exilium*; Plut., *Cic.*, 36, 12,000 men and 1,200 horse, probably confusing Cicero's troops with the forces of Deiotarus (see note 262); V, 18, 2: *dilectus habetur civium Romanorum*.

<sup>247</sup> See above on Pompey and Lucullus; Vol. I, 324 f., 327.

from Roman citizens in Asia.<sup>248</sup> Caesar after Pharsalus left Calvinus in Asia with three, two of which had soon to be sent to Alexandria,<sup>249</sup> leaving but one along with the local levies (the Pontic legion and two from Deiotarus trained in the Roman manner) to face Pharnaces.<sup>250</sup> After Zela he left two with Coelius Vinicianus in Pontus,<sup>251</sup> and probably other garrison forces besides, for in 45 he was able to send Crispus with three legions to Syria from Bithynia to assist against Caecilius Bassus.<sup>252</sup> In 44 Trebonius had only one in Asia, seeing that Dolabella came from Macedonia with one and went on to Syria with two.<sup>253</sup> Tillius Cimber in Bithynia had some additional troops which he sent on to Syria to aid Cassius against Dolabella.<sup>254</sup> Cassius gathered twelve in all in Syria and eight more were raised before Philippi by Brutus in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia.<sup>255</sup> The eight legions<sup>256</sup> which Antony divided between Macedonia and Asia after Philippi retired to Greece and Macedonia during the Parthian invasion of 41-39. Two were sent to Bithynia under Ahenobarbus.<sup>257</sup> But Antony so denuded Asia Minor of troops for his Parthian campaign that they were too few to oppose Sextus Pompey and his band of fugitives,<sup>258</sup> who then managed to recruit three legions from Roman settlements about Parium and Lampascus. The total number of legions then in arms in the East and requiring support was probably nineteen.<sup>259</sup> By 34 Antony, returning westward, brought sixteen legions into Asia. There were nineteen at Actium, among them many eastern recruits, in all, according to Plutarch, 100,000 men and 12,000 horse.<sup>260</sup> The maintenance of all these

<sup>248</sup> Caes., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 4.

<sup>249</sup> *Bell. Alex.*, 9 and 34.

<sup>250</sup> *Bell. Alex.*, 34: duas ab Deiotaro quas ille disciplina atque armatura nostra complures annos constitutas habebat equitesque C totidemque ab Ariobarzane sumit . . . legionem qua ex tumultuariis militibus in Ponto confecta erat.

<sup>251</sup> *Bell. Alex.*, 77.

<sup>252</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 58.

<sup>253</sup> *Id.*, III, 25; IV, 60.

<sup>254</sup> *Id.*, IV, 64; Cass. Dio, XLVII, 31, 1-3.

<sup>255</sup> Cic., *Fam.*, XII, 11; App., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 77-8; IV, 88-9; Cass. Dio, XLVII, 26-8; Vell. Pat., II, 69.

<sup>256</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 3; 10; Plut., *Ant.*, 24.

<sup>257</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 26; 63.

<sup>258</sup> *Ib.*, V, 133 f.; 137 (36 B. C.).

<sup>259</sup> On Antony's legions see Goodfellow, *Roman Citizenship*, 63-7, who agrees with Kromayer, *Hermes*, XXXIII (1898), 20 ff. against Tarn, *Class. Quart.*, XXVI (1932), 75 ff. and C. A. H., X, 48 ff. regarding the number of Antony's legions and the proportion of eastern recruits in them.

<sup>260</sup> Plut., *Ant.*, 56; Cass. Dio, XLIX, 44.

various armies demanded unusual collections and exactions which will be discussed below.

Allied cities and client princes were expected to supply men, mainly light-armed troops, cavalry, archers, and slingers. No estimate can be made of the numbers demanded. We may note however the Galatian aid given to Lucullus,<sup>261</sup> Cicero,<sup>262</sup> Pompey,<sup>263</sup> Caesar<sup>264</sup> (two legions trained in the Roman manner), Brutus,<sup>265</sup> Antony,<sup>266</sup> both in Armenia and at Actium,<sup>267</sup> and after him, to Augustus. Mercenary troops were apparently used occasionally<sup>268</sup> but were few in number. For all of these supplies, if not pay, had to be provided.

Rome had depended largely upon her allies and subject cities to provide what ships were needed. It was so in the war with Aristonicus,<sup>269</sup> and in the First Mithridatic war Lucullus had with difficulty managed to collect a fleet from Egypt, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Rhodes, Cos, and Cnidus.<sup>270</sup> After the peace of Dardanus in 84 Murena imposed a levy upon the cities in order to provide a fleet for defence against the pirates. He apparently distributed the burden systematically, perhaps granting some diminution of tribute to cities like Miletus that supplied ships.<sup>271</sup> We are told that the senate was ready to vote Lucullus a special appropriation of 3,000 talents for ships against Mithridates in 74 but he refused, saying that he would drive Mithridates from the sea with only the ships of the allies.<sup>272</sup> Cotta lost sixty ships at Chalcedon, Triarius at Tenedos had seventy, and only forty-

<sup>261</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 14; App., *Mith.*, 80.

<sup>262</sup> Cic., *Att.*, V, 18, 2; 20, 9; VI, 5, 3; 1, 14: 12,000 foot with Roman arms and training; and 2,000 horse; cf. notes 246 and 250; *Fam.*, XV, 1, 5.

<sup>263</sup> An array of Eastern allies, Caes., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 4-5; App., *Bell. Civ.*, II, 49; 70-71; Cass. Dio, XLI, 55, 3-4; Vell. Pat., II, 51.

<sup>264</sup> *Bell. Alex.*, 9 and 34; see note 250.

<sup>265</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 88; Cass. Dio, XLVII, 48.

<sup>266</sup> Plut., *Ant.*, 37; Cass. Dio, XLIX, 25 (Polemo of Pontus).

<sup>267</sup> Plut., *Ant.*, 61; the list includes Libya, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Commagene, Pontus, and Media as well as Galatia; cf. 63; Cass. Dio, L, 6; 13.

<sup>268</sup> Caes., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 4.

<sup>269</sup> See above, pp. 505 ff.

<sup>270</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 3; App., *Mith.*, 56.

<sup>271</sup> Cic., *Verr.*, II, 1, 89: Decem enim naves iussu L. Murenæ populus Milesius ex pecunia vectigali populi Romani fecerat, sicut pro sua quæque parte Asiae ceterae civitates; from II, 1, 87, it appears that Miletus supplied the marines and rowers also. It was with Milesian ships that Caesar captured the pirates who had held him to ransom, Plut., *Caes.*, 2; Suet., *Jul.*, 4.

<sup>272</sup> Plut., *Luc.*, 13.

three engaged in the siege of Heracleia.<sup>273</sup> Some of Pompey's 270 ships in the pirate war must have come from Asia; he also levied ship money on all the province, using the Sullan system as a base, and the practice continued until 62 B. C. with reductions to one-half of Pompey's original demand.<sup>274</sup> In 61 Quintus Cicero remitted entirely what had become an unnecessary burden upon the province and an invitation to abuse.<sup>275</sup>

The civil wars brought enormous demands for ships, materials, and crews upon coast cities and allies, reducing them to poverty and desperation. How many of Pompey's navy of 600 vessels (App., *B. C.*, II, 49) came from Asia Minor is uncertain; Rhodes gave sixteen and there were contributions from Cyprus, Pamphylia, Lycia, Byzantium, Chios, Lesbos, Smyrna, Miletus, and Cos;<sup>276</sup> many of these were destroyed or captured after Caesar's victories. The combined efforts of the liberators produced a fleet of 200 ships in 42 before Philippi.<sup>277</sup> Tillius Cimber built some vessels in Bithynia in 44-3 while Cassius started to levy oarsmen in Asia; even with the addition of Syrian vessels and those which Dolabella had hired from Rhodes, Lycia, and Cilicia, he had only eighty ships when he appeared at Rhodes.<sup>278</sup> The capture of Lycia and Rhodes gave him their fleets while Brutus had additional ships built in Bithynia and at Cyzicus.<sup>279</sup> Some of these too were lost (some were burned by fleeing republicans) or captured after Philippi, but many got away to join Sextus Pompey or Ahenobarbus.<sup>280</sup> Antony had 200 ships in 40, which he had built in Asia (the East);<sup>281</sup> these were increased to 300 in 37 by the addition of

<sup>273</sup> *Ib.*, 8; App., *Mith.*, 71 and 77; Memnon, 48 and 50 (*F. H. G.*, III, 552).

<sup>274</sup> Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 27 ff., 32: *dimidium eius quo Pompeius erat usus imperavit; num poterit parcius? Discripsit autem pecuniam ad Pompeii rationem, quae fuit accomodata L. Sullae discriptioni.*

<sup>275</sup> Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 33: *at enim negas fratrem meum . . . pecuniam ullam in remiges imperasse; Pro Leg. Man.*, 67. On the development of the navies from the Pirate war to Actium see Kromayer, *Philologus*, LVI (1897), 426-491.

<sup>276</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, II, 87: 300 triremes; Cic., *Att.*, IX, 9, 2; Caes., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 5, 2-3; 27, 2.

<sup>277</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 133.

<sup>278</sup> Cic., *Fam.*, XII, 13, 3; 14, 2; 15, 2; App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 60; 72; Cass. Dio, XLVII, 30, 2.

<sup>279</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 82; 33 Rhodian ships sailed against Cassius, *ib.*, 71, but after Philippi Clodius selected 30 and burned the rest, App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 2; Plut., *Brut.*, 28, 30.

<sup>280</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 2; Vell. Pat., II, 72.

<sup>281</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 55.



those of Ahenobarbus and others.<sup>282</sup> Lendings to Octavian, only partly repaid, reduced the number to about 240 in 35. The burden of much of the effort that produced a navy of 500 vessels, some of them huge ships, before Actium<sup>283</sup> must have fallen upon the ports of Asia Minor. Valerius Maximus<sup>284</sup> mentions the felling of a sacred grove of Asclepius at Cos by Antony's prefect (Turullius) "to build ships for him," Plutarch<sup>285</sup> the collection of 800 vessels including transports at Ephesus. Many of these demands may have included promises to pay, for Pompey, the Liberators, and Antony claimed to represent the lawful government, but as they were defeated in turn the loss to the provincials was complete.

Additional requisitions of grain<sup>286</sup> and other supplies were supposed to be made by public order and at public expense even in time of war. We have few clear instances in Asia Minor of *frumentum emptum*, the additional tithe of grain demanded by the government and paid for at more than market rates. Military requisitions occurred under Servilius Isauricus, who, says Cicero,<sup>287</sup> "could have made untold sums," by selling his collections for his own profit like Verres. Similar collections doubtless occurred in other wars. They are attested for Cicero in 51 under threat of a Parthian invasion<sup>288</sup> and for Pompey in the civil war.<sup>289</sup> In 56 Pompey had been given control of the public purchase of grain everywhere, and in 44 Brutus was appointed to "see to the buying of grain in Asia and sending it to the city."<sup>290</sup> As Asia probably exported little grain the political nature of Brutus' commission becomes all the more apparent. More important was the regular demand for grain, the *frumentum aestimatum*, or *cellae nomine*, to support the governor and his staff. This was regularly demanded in all provinces. According to Cicero traffic in it arose "in Asia and

<sup>282</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 93.

<sup>283</sup> Plut., *Ant.*, 61; Cass. Dio, L, 23, 2.

<sup>284</sup> I, 1, 19; Cass. Dio, LI, 8, 3.

<sup>285</sup> Plut., *Ant.*, 56.

<sup>286</sup> See P. W., VII, 1, 152 ff. s. v. "Frumentum"; Scalais, *Musée Belge*, XXVIII (1924), 81 ff.; see Vol. III, 255, 262.

<sup>287</sup> Cic., *Verr.*, II, 3, 211: P. Servilius quinquennium exercitui cum praecesset et ista ratione innumerabilem pecuniam facere cum posset. . . . Note the Galatian grain brought to Lucullus in 74, Plut., *Luc.*, 14; Pompey's provision train, App., *Mith.*, 99.

<sup>288</sup> *Att.*, V, 18, 2: frumentum ex agris in loca tuta comportatur.

<sup>289</sup> Caes., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 5; 32.

<sup>290</sup> Vol. I, 330; Cic., *Att.*, XV, 9, 1.

in all provinces where one price for grain was unusual because of local differences in the supply.”<sup>291</sup> Abuses arose because a magistrate could order delivery at the point where it was dearest and then compound the difference, or else order delivery at the opposite end of the province, e. g. “from Philomelium at Ephesus, so that it would be better for the Philomelians to pay the Ephesian price in Phrygia rather than transport the grain to Ephesus or send agents there to buy it.”<sup>292</sup> Doubtless few outdid Verres, who both in Cilicia and in Sicily went beyond the usual practice, first ordering his supplies and then, instead of accepting them, demanding the money for them. These and other requisitions amounted in Cilicia in 79 B. C. to 3,000,000 HS (750,000 denarii).<sup>293</sup> Scaevola had collected *frumentum cellae nomine* in Asia in the usual way, and so, too, Aufidius and Varinius when proconsuls in Asia.<sup>294</sup>

Other demands which might be made upon the provincials included the requisitioning of other military supplies; the billeting of soldiers; requisitions for the entertainment of the governor and his staff, from which might arise abuses; “presents” to avoid false charges; bribery; expensive gifts; honours, statues, or embassies to enhance the governor’s dignity; and, besides these, special contributions for the games in Rome or the expense of entertaining visiting grandees who had secured legateships. Allied cities were protected from many of these nuisances by their treaties; Termessus, for instance, could be asked for nothing beyond the terms of the Porcian law, and be forced to

<sup>291</sup> Verr., II, 3, 192: Nam totus quaestus hic, iudices, aestimationis ex annonae natus est varietate. Hoc enim magistratus in provincia adsequi potest, ut ibi accipiat ubi est carissimum. Ideo valet ista ratio aestimationis in Asia, valet in Hispania, valet in iis provinciis in quibus unum pretium frumento esse non solet.

<sup>292</sup> *Ib.*, 191: Video Philomeliensibus expedire, quanti Ephesi sit frumentum, dare potius in Phrygia quem Ephesum portare aut ad emendum frumentum Ephesum pecuniam et legatos mittere.

<sup>293</sup> Verr., II, 1, 95: Pro quaestore vero quo modo iste commune Milyadum vexarit, quo modo Lyciam, Pamphyliam, Pisidiam, Phrygiamque totam frumento imperando, aestimando, hac sua, quam tum primum excogitavit, Siciliensi aestimatione affixerit, non est necesse demonstrasse verbis; hoc scitote . . . cum iste civitatibus frumentum, coria, cilicia, saccos imperaret, neque ea sumeret proque iis pecuniam exigeret—his nominibus solis Cn. Dolabellae HS ad triciens litem esse aestimatam.

<sup>294</sup> Verr., II, 3, 209-210; *Pro Flacco*, 45: (Heracleides) custos T. Aufidio praetore in frumento publico est positus (at Temnus); pro quo cum a P. Varinio praetore pecuniam accepisset, celavit suos civis ultroque eis sumptum intulit. In this case the government paid for the grain but the Temnite official pocketed the proceeds.

receive soldiers only by special decree of the senate.<sup>295</sup> Many of the demands for supplies will be discussed later in connection with the civil wars, but we may note here the hides, Cilician rugs, and sacks ordered by Verres,<sup>296</sup> his demand for a ship from Miletus<sup>297</sup> (which he promptly sold), the excessive demands of Metellus Scipio and Pompey in 49,<sup>298</sup> and much else on the occasions of other wars. Cicero prided himself on the absence of demands during his governorship,<sup>299</sup> a flattering contrast with his predecessor, Appius Claudius,<sup>300</sup> and with Verres. Billeting in cities was a regular practice from the beginning. A citizen of Pergamum in 129 received exemption from billeting.<sup>301</sup> The form of Sulla's billeting was a special punishment.<sup>302</sup> Lucullus earned the ill will of his troops by keeping them in camp all winter. Cicero speaks in 66 of the ruin of cities by winter quarterings of soldiers, but praises the conduct of Pompey's forces at that time wintering in cities of Cilicia.<sup>303</sup> The possible excesses of the soldiery led cities to give the governor special payments to prevent a billeting.<sup>304</sup> The cities of Cyprus had paid 200 talents (1,200,000 denarii) to Cicero's predecessor, and rich cities of Cilicia likewise. According to Caesar the effect of billeting Pompey's army in the cities of Asia was disastrous.<sup>305</sup> The armies of the Liberators and of Antony were probably no less annoying.

What a governor might demand was at first not well defined. Verres is probably the supreme example of illegal excess, a summary of whose Asiatic activities may be appended.<sup>306</sup> On his way east he demanded

<sup>295</sup> Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 38.

<sup>296</sup> See note 293.

<sup>297</sup> *Verr.*, II, 1, 96 f.

<sup>298</sup> *Caes.*, *Bell. Civ.*, III, 31-32.

<sup>299</sup> *Att.*, V, 21, 7: quae sex mensibus imperi mei nullas meas acceperat litteras, numquam hospitem viderat.

<sup>300</sup> *Att.*, V, 15, 2; 16, 1; VI, 1, 2: quidquid poterat detraxit . . . illo imperante exhaustam esse sumptibus et iacturis provinciam.

<sup>301</sup> *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 295.

<sup>302</sup> *Plut.*, *Luc.*, 33, quoting Sallust.

<sup>303</sup> *Pro Leg. Man.*, 38-9.

<sup>304</sup> *Att.*, V, 21, 7: Civitates locupletes ne in hiberna milites reciperent magnas pecunias dabant, Cypril talenta Attica CC.

<sup>305</sup> *Caes.*, *Bell. Civ.*, III, 31: deductis Pergamum atque in locupletissimas urbes in hiberna legionibus maximas largitiones fecit et confirmandorum militum causa diripiendas his civitates dedit.

<sup>306</sup> *Verr.*, II, 1, 44-100. His requisitions have been discussed above, note 293. Almost all such demands were manifestly illegal, but it was doubtless often hard

money from magistrates of Sicyon, objects of art from Achaia, gold from Athens, and tried to rob Delos of some statues. Arriving in Asia, he first received sumptuous entertainments with gifts of horses and other presents; he took statues from Chios, Erythrae, Tenedos, and Halicarnassus, and also rifled the temple of Hera of Samos of pictures and statues. In his province he treated the public places and sanctuaries of Aspendus and of Perga in the same way, besides distressing all the regions of his province with his requisitions. Then came the affair at Lampsacus while he was on a private business trip to Bithynia, followed by the unjust execution of Philodamus and his son at Laodiceia. His depredations extended beyond his own province into Phrygia. He requisitioned a ship from Miletus, sold it at Mynus, and pocketed the proceeds, and misused his position as guardian of the estate of the deceased quaestor Malleolus for his own profit. In addition Cicero records false entries on his books which led to the condemnation of his superior, the proconsul Dolabella, for peculation and account for some unrecorded profits of Verres himself, amounting in all to 2,567,000 HS (841,750 denarii).

That some license was usual may be gathered, after making allowances for his political purpose in the speech, from Cicero's praise of Pompey's self-restraint in the *Pro Lege Manilia*,<sup>307</sup> and from his praise of Flaccus' youthful temperance in a tempting province. This same Flaccus after his proconsulate of Asia in 62 was charged with soliciting a public gift of 206,000 drachmae from Acmonia, appropriating funds belonging to Tralles, receiving from some Temnites 105,000 drachmae, appropriating a legacy to which he had no right, demanding a bribe of 50 talents to ratify a tax contract for the revenues of Tralles, and probably appropriating some of the ship money.<sup>308</sup> Cicero praises his brother for the exercise of ordinary honesty and self-restraint in the administration of justice, for his respect for other people's property and his refusal to entertain false charges.<sup>309</sup> Despite the Julian laws of 59 which required the publication of the governor's accounts in the province and restricted requisitions for personal expenses to hay, wood,

to prove that they were merely for personal gain, and a conviction in any case was difficult to get.

<sup>307</sup> 36 ff.; 64 ff.

<sup>308</sup> *Pro Flacco*, 5 ff., 27 ff., 34 ff., 42 ff., 52 ff., 84 ff., 90 ff.

<sup>309</sup> *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 8-9; 25: remotam a fama et a fortunis et ab otio locupletium illam acerbissimam ministram praetorum avaritiae, calumniam.

and salt, Appius had made excessive demands, both for himself and his staff.<sup>310</sup> Cicero ostentatiously adhered to the law.<sup>311</sup> We may note, too, the honors of statues, etc., that Quintus Cicero refused in Asia and Cicero in Cilicia<sup>312</sup> (statues were put up in Samos, which Quintus had helped to revive)<sup>313</sup> and the similar honors, including an expensive embassy, that Appius had demanded.<sup>314</sup> The Salaminians told Cicero that the amount of the usual present to the governor would be more than the debt to Brutus and Scaptius, which they reckoned at 106 talents.<sup>315</sup> Since in spite of his honesty Cicero finished his year of office with a balance of 2,200,000 HS (550,000 denarii) from his allowance,<sup>316</sup> we may conjecture that other governors found more than sufficient compensation for their years of public service and their election expenses. Cicero's staff was probably less satisfied than himself,<sup>317</sup> but doubtless had less reason for complaint against their superior than the staff of Memmius in Bithynia in 57.<sup>318</sup> Cicero, relying on his power to review the finances of the cities and a Sullan law limiting municipal expenditures, managed to stop several embassies in honor of his predecessor Appius. Many such embassies were regularly sent and in Rome regularly neglected; the burden to the provincial towns when governors frequently changed can well be imagined.<sup>319</sup> Finally we may mention the further nuisance of the *legationes liberae* by which, though it should properly have been reserved for envoys on public business, senators and others got the privilege of free entertainment upon provincial journeys.<sup>320</sup> Despite limitations proposed by Cicero in 63

<sup>310</sup> See note 237; *Att.*, V, 15, 2; 16, 3; VI, 1, 2; *Fam.*, III, 7, 2; 8, 3-8.

<sup>311</sup> *Att.*, V, 21, 5; *Fam.*, V, 20, 2.

<sup>312</sup> *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 26; *Att.*, V, 21, 7: *nullos honores mihi nisi verborum decerni sino, statuas, fana, τέθριππα prohibeo.*

<sup>313</sup> *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 25; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1713. Quintus had aided Halicarnassus too.

<sup>314</sup> *Cic.*, *Fam.*, III, 8, 2-8. *Apameae cum essem, multarum civitatum principes ad me detulerunt sumptus decerni legatis nimis magnos, cum solvendo civitates non essent; III, 10, 6.*

<sup>315</sup> *Att.*, V, 21, 11: *Homines non modo non recusare sed etiam hoc dicere, se a me solvere. Quod enim praetori dare consuessent, quoniam ego non acceperam, se a me quodam modo dare, atque etiam minus esse aliquanto in Scapti nomine quam in vectigali praetorio.* On Quintus Cicero's refusal of bribes, *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 8; 13.

<sup>316</sup> *Fam.*, V, 20, 9; *Att.*, XI, 1, 2.

<sup>317</sup> *Att.*, V, 17, 2; 21, 5; VI, 3, 1; *Fam.*, V, 20, 8.

<sup>318</sup> Catullus, 10; 28.

<sup>319</sup> See note 314.

<sup>320</sup> *Lex Agr.*, II, 45; *Pro Flacco*, 86.

and Caesar in 59 the practice continued.<sup>321</sup> Mention is made also of special contributions for aediles' games in Rome. These Quintus Cicero refused to allow in Asia just as his brother in Cilicia ignored Caelius' persistent demand for panthers for his games.<sup>322</sup>

We see, therefore, that the provincial communities were subject to governmental abuses even when the tribute itself was fairly collected. Some were suffering considerable distress<sup>323</sup> even in the best and most peaceful period of the republic. Assuming however that few governors were as rapacious as Verres and few as honest as the Ciceros, the burden of governmental expenses was not impossible. Much of the distress, to which the governors' power of coercion might, on occasion, add considerably, was due to debt, or else to peculation by their own magistrates.<sup>324</sup> What really made their condition intolerable was the special exactions, requisitions, and losses suffered in the course of the wars.

<sup>321</sup> *Att.*, XV, 11, 4; *De Leg.*, III, 18; cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*<sup>2</sup>, II, 690 f.; cf. *Fam.*, II, 17, 2.

<sup>322</sup> *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 26; quod iniquo et gravi vectigali aedilicio . . . Asiam liberasti; in this case it amounted to 200,000 HS (50,000 d.). *Fam.*, VIII, 2, 2; 4, 5; 9, 3; II, 11, 2; *Att.*, V, 21, 5; and esp. VI, 1, 21, on the request of Caelius for Cilician panthers for his games.

<sup>323</sup> Note *Pro Flacco*, 20 (62 B. C.): In aerario nihil habent civitates, nihil in vectigalibus. Duae rationes conficiendae pecuniae, aut versura aut tributo; *Att.*, V, 16, 2: audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata *ἐπικεφάλια* solvere non posse, *ὥς* omniū venditas, civitatum gemitus, ploratus, in 51 after Appius was proconsul of Cilicia.

<sup>324</sup> Instances have been discussed above in the section on Italian traders. Cicero gave relief in both types of cases, *Att.*, VI, 2, 4-5; 3, 3; *Fam.*, XV, 4, 2. For a glowing account of what a good governor could do, see *Quint. Frat.*, I, 1, 24-26.

## CHAPTER III

### THE PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WARS

*The Civil War and Caesar's Settlement.* We have discussed above Pompey's collection of an army and a navy from the East. The chief expense of his effort also fell upon the East as a whole and a large part of it upon the provinces and client princes of Asia Minor. The chief passage is the *ex parte* statement of Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, III, 31-2:<sup>1</sup> "Scipio had requisitioned large sums from the cities and the princes, had also exacted from the tax-farmers of his province (Syria) the amount owing for two years, and had borrowed in advance from the same persons the amount due for the following year. . . . Meanwhile sums of money, requisitioned with the utmost harshness, were being exacted throughout the province. Many kinds of extortion, moreover, were specially devised to glut their avarice. A tribute was imposed on every head of slaves and children: pillar-taxes, door-taxes, corn, soldiers, arms, rowers, freightage were requisitioned; any mode of exaction, provided a name could be found for it, was deemed a sufficient excuse for compelling contributions." After mentioning the private gains of the collectors, Caesar goes on: "Added to this there was the heaviest usury, as usually happens in war, money being exacted from the whole population; and in these proceedings postponement of the day of payment was termed a free gift. Consequently in these two years the debt of the province was multiplied. Yet none the less on that account were fixed sums of money exacted from the Roman citizens of the province, not individually but by separate corporations and communities, and they tried to make out that these sums were being taken

<sup>1</sup> Civitatibus tyrannisque magnas imperaverat pecunias, item a publicanis suae provinciae debitam bienni pecuniam exegerat et ab isdem insequentis annis mutuam praeceperat. . . . Interim acerbissime imperatae pecuniae tota provincia exigebantur. Multa praeterea generatim ad avaritiam excogitabantur. In capita singula servorum ac liberorum tributum imponebatur; columnaria, ostiaria, frumentum, milites, arma, remiges, tormenta, vecturae imperabantur; cuius modo rei nomen reperiri poterat, hoc satis esse ad cogendas pecunias videbatur. . . . Accedebant ad haec gravissimae usurae, quod in bello plerumque accidere consuevit universis imperatis pecuniis; quibus in rebus prolationem diei donationem esse dicebant. Itaque aes alienum provinciae eo biennio multiplicatum est. Neque minus ob eam causam civibus Romanis eius provinciae, sed in singulos conventus singulasque civitates certae pecuniae imperabantur, mutuasque illas ex senatus consulto exigere dictitabant; publicanis, ut in Syria fecerant, insequentis anni vectigal promutuum.

as loans in accordance with a decree of the senate; from the tax-farmers they demanded the tax of the following year as an advance loan, as they had done in Syria." This may suffice also to give an impression of the conditions caused later by the exactions of the Liberators and of Antony. The sacred funds of Artemis of Ephesus were twice saved only by good fortune (*ib.*, 33; 105).

In Pontus, Armenia Minor, and Cappadocia the invasion of Pharnaces brought much distress, since he stormed several cities, seized the goods and mutilated the persons of many Romans and natives in Pontus, and did special damage to cities which the Romans had favored, such as Sinope and Amisus.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of his complaints against Pompey, his need of funds drove Caesar to do much the same thing. The client princes who had supported Pompey paid considerable contributions.<sup>3</sup> Deiotarus of Galatia had to hold three auctions to raise his share, the collection of which was also impeded by the invasion of Pharnaces.<sup>4</sup> Caesar was no less exigent in the final settlement after Zela:<sup>5</sup> "He collected along the way great sums of money from everybody and upon every pretext, just as before. In the first place he exacted all that any had previously promised to Pompey and, again, he asked for still more from other sources, bringing various accusations to justify his action." Among the individuals mulcted was the noted Pythodorus of Tralles, who was fined 2,000 talents (12,000,000 denarii) but, says Strabo,<sup>6</sup> soon recovered it again. Some of these exactions were necessary for immediate expenses. We do not know what part was brought to Rome for his triumph.

We have mentioned above Caesar's abolition of the system of farming the tithe. His settlement also involved extensive territorial adjustments. Cyprus was given to Arsinoe and Ptolemy the Younger.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Bell. Alex.*, 41: multa oppida expugnavit. bona civium Romanorum Ponticorumque diripuit; 70; *Cass. Dio*, XLII, 46, 3: plunder and slaughter at Amisus; *App.*, *Bell. Civ.*, II, 91; *Mith.*, 120; *Strabo*, XII, 3, 14; *Plut.*, *Caes.*, 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Cass. Dio*, XLI, 63, 1; XLII, 6, 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Cic.*, *Pro Deiot.*, 14: ille iterum, ille tertis auctionibus factis pecuniam dedit quoad bellum uterere; 25; *Bell. Alex.*, 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Cass. Dio*, XLII, 49, 1: πολλά καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει χρήματα παρὰ πάντων, ὥσπερ καὶ πρὶν, ἐκλέγων. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ὅσα τινὲς τῷ Πομπήϊῳ προῦπέσχοντο, ἐπράξατο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔωθεν, προσεπικαλῶν τινα, ᾗ τει.

<sup>6</sup> XIV, 1, 42: περιβέβλητο δὲ καὶ οὐσίαν βασιλικὴν πλείονων ἢ δισχιλίων ταλάντων, ἣν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ παραθεῖσαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Πομπήϊον φιλίαν ἐξωρησάμενος οὐχ ἥττω τοῖς παισὶ κατέλιπε.

<sup>7</sup> *Cass. Dio*, XLII, 35, 5.



Pamphylia as well as the Phrygian dioceses became part of Asia.<sup>8</sup> Presumably Cilicia Pedias was added to Syria, some honors being given to Tarsus and Aegeae at the same time.<sup>9</sup> The disposition of other portions of the former province of Cilicia remains obscure. The rule of various princes who had supported Pompey was confirmed, Tarcondimotus in eastern Cilicia,<sup>10</sup> Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia (who received Armenia Minor in addition).<sup>11</sup> Deiotarus, too, was given his ancestral kingdom over the Tectosages but lost Armenia Minor to Ariobarzanes and his recent annexation, the Trocmi, which he had seized upon the death of Brogitarus, to the rightful successor, Caesar's friend and preserver, Mithridates of Pergamum.<sup>12</sup> The Tectosages were still in 47 under Domnilius and Tarcondarius Castor.<sup>13</sup> The priesthood of Pontic Comana was taken from Archelaus, the son of Pompey's appointee, and given to Lycomedes,<sup>14</sup> a Bithynian but of the Cappadocian royal blood. He restored Amisus to its position as a free city;<sup>15</sup> to Ilium, his ancestral city through Aeneas, he gave additional territory, with a guarantee of freedom and immunity,<sup>16</sup> and to Cnidus, as a favor to his friend and historian, Theopompus, the gift of freedom.<sup>17</sup> Pergamum, through the good offices of Mithridates, regained its freedom and right of asylum;<sup>18</sup> so too, perhaps, others.<sup>19</sup> The details of these arrangements

<sup>8</sup> Cic., *Fam.*, XII, 15, 5: the province of the proquaestor Lentulus in 43 extended to Side; XIII, 67.

<sup>9</sup> Cass. Dio, XLVII, 26, 2; *Bell. Alex.*, 66; era of Aegeae from 47 B. C., Head, *Hist. Num.*, 716; cf. Jones, *C. E. R. P.*, 203 f.; 207.

<sup>10</sup> Cass. Dio, XLI, 63, 1; cf. XLVII, 26, 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*, XLI, 63, 3; XLII, 48, 3; *Bell. Alex.*, 66; Cic., *Phil.*, II, 93 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Bell. Alex.*, 68: regium vestitum ei restituit; 78: Eidem (Mithridates) tetrarchian Gallograecorum iure gentis et cognationis adiudicavit occupatam et possessam paucis ante annis a Deiotaro; Cic., *De Div.*, II, 79. He also gave Mithridates Pharnaces' Bosphoran kingdom.

<sup>13</sup> An inscription recently discovered at Manegordus (Karalar), *Rev. Arch.*, VI (1935), 2, 133, shows that Deiotarus was not yet king of the Tectosages in March, 48.

<sup>14</sup> *Bell. Alex.*, 66, which confuses Comana of Pontus with Comana of Cappadocia; App., *Mith.*, 121; Strabo, XII, 3, 35; cf. 38. It is not certain whether the additions to his territory came now or under Antony as Anderson, *Anat. Studies*, 8, holds; if they came now it was Caesar who broke with Pompey's policy of city development in this region, in order to aid Comana, Zela, and prince Ateporix. See below on Antony.

<sup>15</sup> Cass. Dio, XLI, 48, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Strabo, XIII, 1, 27: χώραν τε δὴ προσέειμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλειτουργησίαν αὐτοῖς συνεθύλαξε.

<sup>17</sup> Plut., *Caes.*, 48; on the treaty of alliance, see Jardé, *Mél. Oagnat*, 51 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIV (1909), 329 ff.; *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1677, 1682, 433, 305, 306.

<sup>19</sup> Miletus, *I. B. M.*, 921 a, freedom lost in the Mithridatic war was restored before

were left to the succeeding governors Domitius Calvinus and Servilius Isauricus. Most important were his colonies, Sinope, where the colonists received a portion of the city and the land,<sup>20</sup> Heracleia of Pontus,<sup>21</sup> and Apameia Myrleia, which had like Carthage the title Concordia, and where the colonists received a portion of the land.<sup>22</sup> According to Appian Caesar also placed colonists in Lampsacus, but since Lampsacus did not possess the title of colony I suspect he refers to the adjacent Julian colony of Parium.<sup>23</sup> In his relation to client princes and his regard for the cities Caesar followed the main lines of Pompeian policy. His group of commercial seaport colonies was a new departure, his abolition of tithe-farming a long overdue reform. His murder in 44 started civil wars anew and nullified for a time the effects of his settlement.

*The Wars with Dolabella and the Liberators.* The passage of Dolabella through Asia to Syria in 44-3 was attended by looting, seizure of revenues (presumably what Trebonius had gathered or was in process of gathering), and seizure and sale of much property of Roman citi-

46; Joseph., *Ant.*, XIV, 10, 21; Haussoullier, *Études*, 255 ff.; restoration of Apollo Chresterius of Aegae, *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1177-8; *C. I. L.*, I, 2 (ed. 2), 786; recognition of asylum at Hierocaesarea, *Tac.*, *Ann.*, III, 62. What special benefits lie behind dedications to Caesar such as those of Chios (*I. G. R. P.*, IV, 928) and Ephesus (*C. I. G.*, 2957) remain obscure; on a restoration by Servilius to Apollo of Calymna, see Waddington, *Fasti*, no. 37; cf. Münzer, *Adelsparteien*, 356, note 2, where material relating to Ephesus, Magnesia on the Maeander, Cos, and Tenos has also been collected. Cf. also App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 68 for Caesar's renewal of the treaty with Rhodes; for his probable gift of freedom to Aphrodisias, see *O. G. I. S.*, 454; *Tac.*, *Ann.*, III, 62.

<sup>20</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 11: *πυλὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν δέδεκται καὶ μέρος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνων ἐστὶ*; *C. I. L.*, III, 6978; Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, 509; *C. I. F. S.* dated from 46 B. C.; Pliny, *H. N.*, VI, 6; *Digest*, L, 15, 1, 10: *ius Italicum*.

<sup>21</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 6: *ἐδέξατο δ' ἀποικίαν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας*. This was before Antony gave the native portion of Heracleia to Adiutorix. (The title of colony appears neither upon coins nor inscriptions and so may never have been given.)

<sup>22</sup> Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 314: col. Iul. Conc(ordia) Apameia; Pliny, V, 149; Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, 510; *Digest*, L, 15, 1, 10: *ius Italicum*.

<sup>23</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 137: *Δάμψακον ἐκ προδοσίας κατέλαβεν, ἣ πολλοὺς εἶχεν Ἰταλοὺς ἐξ ἐποικίσεως Ἰαῶν Καίσαρος*. The division of a settlement between two towns, or else an addition of colonists under Octavian would explain the title Gemella, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, 531: *O. G. I. P.*; cf. *C. I. L.*, III, 386; Pliny, *H. N.*, V, 141; IV, 48; *Digest*, L, 15, 8: *ius Italicum*. The possibility of non-colonial settlements of colonists at Heracleia and Lampsacus is not excluded. I have suggested in *T. A. P. A.*, LXVI (1935), 23 f. that such were placed in Amisus of Pontus and Attaleia of Pamphylia either by Caesar or Augustus.

zens.<sup>24</sup> Notices of collections of 50 talents from Pergamum and 250 ships from Bithynia are more suspect, since the evidence comes from the Greek letters of Brutus.<sup>25</sup> It is certain that, whatever he may have ordered, he did not get so many ships. More disastrous were the exactions of Brutus and Cassius, who came armed with senatorial authority to collect the regular revenues and order (as a loan) anything else that they required.<sup>26</sup> From Asia as a whole they demanded the tribute of ten years, to be paid in two.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps not all was received, since officers were still collecting at the time of the battle of Philippi.<sup>28</sup> Bithynia and Pontus, Cilicia, and the territories of the client kings probably received similar demands, as well as requests for arms, materials, and men. Deiotarus, who had refused Cassius, was won against his will by Brutus, his former advocate.<sup>29</sup> Probably Cassius' murder of Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia and his seizure of such treasures as the poverty-stricken king had managed to amass since 51 had occurred in the meantime to warn him.<sup>30</sup> Cassius exacted 1,500 talents from Tarsus, which favored the Caesarian side; to raise the sum, says Appian,<sup>31</sup> required all their public, private, and sacred valuables as well as the sale of many of their people into slavery. Cassius then captured Rhodes, where a complete collection of public, private, and sacred wealth (he left them the chariot of Helios) amounted to

<sup>24</sup> Cic., *Fam.*, XII, 15, 1: *vastata provincia, correptis vectigalibus, praecipue civibus Romanis omnibus crudelissime denudatis ac divenditis*; *Phil.*, XI, 25; *Brut.*, II, 4, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*, 178 ff., nos. 1, 7, 9, 81. Note nos. 55, 57 on funds which he deposited or left in trust with his guest-friend, Menodorus of Tralles.

<sup>26</sup> Cic., *Brut.*, II, 4, 4; App., *Bell. Civ.*, III, 63; IV, 70; 75.

<sup>27</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 74: (Cassius) *ἐπέταττεν ὅμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἀσίας ἅπασι φόρους ἐτῶν δέκα συμφέρειν*; V, 5; Cass. Dio, XLVII, 32, 4.

<sup>28</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 2; 5 implies that they had already paid; in 6 the people of Asia tell Antony of their payments of money, of plate and ornaments when money failed and the changing of them into coin.

<sup>29</sup> Cass. Dio, XLVII, 24, 3; Cic., *Phil.*, XI, 31.

<sup>30</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 63:  *χρήματα πολλὰ τὰ ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπαγγάγον*; Cass. Dio, XLVII, 33, 4; cf. Plut., *Cato Minor*, 73. No doubt the rich feudal lords of Cappadocia were laid under contribution, too, cf. Cic., *Att.*, VI, 1, 3; Plut., *l. c.*

<sup>31</sup> Cass. Dio, XLVII, 26, 2; 31, 3; App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 64: *Κάσσιος . . . ἐσφορὰν ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα. οἱ δὲ . . . τὰ τε κοινὰ ἀπεδίδοντο πάντα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὅσα εἶχον ἐς πομπὰς ἢ ἀναθήματα, ἔκοπτον. οὐδενὸς δὲ μέρους οὐδ' ὡς ἀνυομένου, ἐπώλουν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τὰ ἐλεύθερα· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἦν παρθένοι τε καὶ παῖδες, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναῖκες τε καὶ γέροντες ἐλευενοί, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὄντιοι, μετὰ δὲ οἱ νέοι. No wonder the city required special governors under Antony and Octavian, Strabo, XIV, 5, 14.*

8,000 talents. To this he added a fine of 500.<sup>32</sup> The city never recovered fully from the blow. Brutus meantime reduced the Lycians. Xanthus held out to the death, being almost completely destroyed; Patara gave in and escaped with the loss of all its gold and silver. Myra and the rest paid what was demanded, amounting in all to some 150 talents.<sup>33</sup> We have no means of estimating the requisitions of ships and timber. The public demands were not all. A praetorian was publicly punished by Brutus for embezzling funds; Cassius let two others off with private warnings.<sup>34</sup> There were those who made use of the confusion and distress for private gain. Total collections must have been more than 25,000 talents (150,000,000 denarii), much of which went to their soldiers and some for ships and supplies.

The genuineness of the Greek letters of Brutus<sup>35</sup> has recently been called into question again, and with some plausibility. Since, if they are genuine, they are valuable evidence for Brutus' demands and, if not genuine, must still have been written by some one well acquainted with Brutus' actions, I add here a summary of their content. Pergamum paid 200 talents (1,200,000 d.) under considerable pressure (nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9; Plut., *Brut.*, 2); the Cyzicenes had to convoy arms (ὅπλα) from Bithynia, receiving as reward the island and quarries of Proconnesus (nos. 35, 37); a request pleading inability to do further service drew a harsh answer (39); the Bithynians were to build, fit, and forward 50 merchant vessels and 200 warships with sailors, rowers, and food for 30 days; delay after the ships of Macedonia, Lesbos, and Phoenicia had come brought on them a demand for 400 talents (2,400,000 d.) to pay for marines (59, 61, 63, 65, 67); a demand for ships from Cos (13, 15); for siege weapons from the Lycians for Cassius against Rhodes (21) (but Cassius won before they could be sent [23]); on Tralles there is merely the demand that she refuse to receive Dolabella and later that she turn over to Brutus any funds he left there with his guest friend Menodorus (51, 53, 55, 57); there are more general demands and rebukes for slackness in providing men or materials for Caunus (19, 31), Smyrna (41), Myra (43, 45), Miletus (47, 49), and Samos (69; Plut., *Brut.*, 2); harsh answers to most of them for pleas of inability or weakness. He uses the fate of Xanthus as a warning to Rhodes (11) and the Lycians (25, 27, 43; Plut., *Brut.*, 2) and Cos (13), adding in no. 11 to Rhodes the

<sup>32</sup> Plut., *Brut.*, 32; App., *Bell. Civ.*, 73: χρήματα δὲ ὅσα ἦν ἡ χρυσὸς ἢ ἀργυρὸς ἐν τοποῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις, πάντα συλῆσας ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸν ιδιωτικὸν ἐκφέρειν τοὺς κεκτημένους ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητῆν; Cass. Dio, XLVII, 33, 4; Suet. (ed. Reifferscheid), 360; Oros., VI, 18, 13; Val. Max., I, 5, 8. Coins commemorating their victories and minted from their takings are discussed by Grueber, *Coins Repub. Br. Mus.*, II, 451, 475 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Plut., *Brut.*, 30-32; Cass. Dio, XLVII, 34; App., *Bell. Civ.*, IV, 80-82; Philo Jud., *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, 118-120; *Jahreshefte*, XVIII (1915), bbl., 40 ff. (inscription of Olba). Whether the recent grant of freedom to slaves and release from debts to debtors at Patara came from Dolabella or the Patareans themselves is not told us, Cass. Dio, l. c.; cf. below on Brutus' letters.

<sup>34</sup> Plut., *Brut.*, 35; cf. Horace, *Sat.*, I, 7 for Brutus holding court.

<sup>35</sup> See Plut., *Brut.*, 2 and 53; Rühl, *Rh. Mus.*, LXX (1915), 315 ff.; T. Rice Holmes, *Arch. Rom. Emp.*, I, 79, note 4; R. E. Smith, *Class. Quart.*, XXX (1936), 194-203.

surprising statement that he freed Patara from tribute, granted her freedom and autonomy, and gave her 50 talents to refit what had been destroyed there by the passage of time (can he mean ships?). His talk of refusal of Xanthian pleas for money (43) does not agree with the general tradition, but his treatment of the survivors was not inconsistent with no. 27. Plutarch's quotation of the letters as genuine, despite his possible doubt of one (*Brut.*, 53), throws the onus of proof on those who claim that they are not so.

*Antony in Asia Minor.* Antony's exactions, made necessary by the triumvirate's promises to its soldiers, must have reduced most of Asia Minor to the last extremity. His appointments, on the other hand, although there are undoubted instances of caprice or favoritism, show a genuine regard for defense and genuine ability to pick good men; his applications of the traditional principle that the less well organized areas should remain under their own rulers reveal how some regions had retrogressed during the civil wars, how in others, notably in Pontus, some of the city organizations of Pompey had either retrogressed or never developed into the hoped-for urban centers. First he rewarded those who had resisted the Liberators. Rhodes received Myndus of Caria and the islands of Andros, Naxos, and Tenos, but soon lost them for ruling them too harshly; the Lycians received freedom from taxation and permission to rebuild Xanthus; Tarsus became a free city, was freed from taxes, the people who had been sold were liberated by his order, and the city was presented with a gymnasium.<sup>36</sup> Either now or later he confirmed the right of asylum of Artemis of Ephesus and doubled the sacred area.<sup>37</sup> But to pay the soldiers he now demanded of the province ten years' tribute in one, which the entreaties of the victims prevailed upon him to reduce to nine years' tribute in two. Additional heavy contributions were levied from all the client kings, which appear to be regularly tributary from now on, and the free cities.<sup>38</sup> The eastern properties of the proscribed, till now untouched, must have added something, too. Whether the province, so well plundered by Brutus and Cassius, ever raised the full sum is doubtful. There were

<sup>36</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 7. On the gymnasial expenditures at Tarsus, Strabo, XIV, 5, 14.

<sup>37</sup> Strabo, XIV, 1, 23.

<sup>38</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 5: *ἃ γὰρ ἔδοτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς ἐν ἑτασι δύο (ἔδοτε δὲ φόρους δέκα ἐτῶν) ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἀρκέσει μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ ἑταί· ἐπείγουσι γὰρ αἱ χρεῖαι. 6: καὶ τέλος παρακαλοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐννέα ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσσευγκείν ἑτασι δύο. βασιλεῦσι δὲ καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐλευθέραις ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἐκάστων δύναμιν ἐπετάχθη. Plut., *Ant.*, 24; Cass. Dio, XLVIII, 24, 1. On the client kings see App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 75: *ἰσθὴ δὲ πῃ καὶ βασιλέας, οὓς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις.* "He set up kings here and there as he pleased, on condition of their paying a tribute" (30 B. C.).*

soldiers' bounties still unpaid in 40;<sup>39</sup> some money was embezzled by his followers; part went as gifts to favourites;<sup>40</sup> with some he built a fleet of 200 ships.<sup>41</sup>

The Parthian invaders under Labienus received active support from Commagene, Cappadocia, and the Taurus tribesmen and occupied much of Asia Minor with ease. Laodiceia on the Lycus under Zeno and Polemo stood a siege, Mylasa and Alabanda of Caria with their temples were razed for their resistance.<sup>42</sup> Aphrodisias and Stratoniceia held out, but the miracle which saved Panamarnos did not save Hecate of Lagina.<sup>43</sup> The Parthians proceeded to "levy money and rob temples"; and did so over a wide area, since their agents were attacked and driven out of Mysia by the brigand and priest-king of Mysia Abrettene, Cleon of Gordiou Kome.<sup>44</sup> Antony's lieutenant Ventidius quickly sent them home in 39. The foray of Sextus Pompey into Asia during Antony's Parthian expedition must have brought losses to Lesbos, which first received him. He secured supplies for an army by looting Nicaea and Nicomedeia.<sup>45</sup>

There is little evidence to reveal what fresh burdens were laid on Asia Minor by Antony's Parthian campaign of 36, his Median one of 34, or the preparations for the campaign of Actium. The masses of troops required of the client kings,<sup>46</sup> the vast amount of shipbuilding

<sup>39</sup> Cass. Dio, XLVIII, 30, 2.

<sup>40</sup> Plut., *Ant.*, 24; Strabo, XIV, 1, 41; the stories here preserved doubtless figured in the propagandist polemics of the time. Note in Strabo the citharoede of Magnesia appointed collector of tribute for four cities; cf. *Inscr. v. Magn.*, 129.

<sup>41</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 55: *ναυαὶ δὲ διακοσίαις, ἃς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πεποίητο*; some were doubtless Syrian.

<sup>42</sup> Cass. Dio, XLVIII, 26; Strabo, XIV, 2, 24; *S. I. G.*, 768 (Mylasa) mentions the burning of the city, captivity of citizens, the slaughter of many, the burning of others with the city, the destruction of the temples and shrines, the ravaging of the land and the burning of farmsteads; App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 65.

<sup>43</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, III, 62: *laudati quod Parthorum irruptionem nil mutata in populum Romanum constantia pertulissent*; *O. G. I. S.*, 453-455; Roussel, *B. C. H.*, LV (1931), 70 ff.; *B. C. H.*, XI (1887), 151, no. 56; 225 ff.; L. W., III, 442-3; 519-20.

<sup>44</sup> Cass. Dio, XLVIII, 26, 5: *καὶ ὁ μὲν (Labienus) χρήματά τε . . . ἐπράσσετο καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσύλα*. On Cleon, Strabo, XII, 8, 9: *ὑπῆρξε δ' Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν χρήσιμος, ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀργυρολογοῦντας Λαβιήνῳ, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐκεῖνος τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέσχε, καὶ κωλύσας τὰς παρασκευάς*.

<sup>45</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 133; 139: *Νικαίαν τε καὶ Νικομήδειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχρηματίζετο λαμπρῶς*.

<sup>46</sup> Plut., *Ant.*, 37, 2-3: 30,000 allied troops against Parthia without the Armenians; Polemo of Pontus, Cass. Dio, XLIX, 25, 4; on the Median Campaign, Plut., *Ant.*, 50-51; Cass. Dio, XLIX, 39; 44; at Actium, Plut., *Ant.*, 56, 61, 63; Cass. Dio, XLIX, 33; 44; L, 6.

necessary,<sup>47</sup> and Plutarch's picture of the severity of the requisitioning in Greece<sup>48</sup> give some idea of the hardships that were suffered by the eastern provincials. Ephesus had the unenviable position of Antony's headquarters in 33 and Samos in 32.<sup>49</sup> That all was not well with Antony's supplies in spite of Cleopatra's contributions is apparent from the debasement of the legionary coinage issued before Actium.<sup>50</sup> To the last something of his financial irresponsibility remained. Witness his grants of citizenship, freedom from military service, municipal burdens, and billeting to performers in the games, and privileges of truce, asylum, and gifts of purple for the festival of the Diet of Asia; or his gift of Priene as a residence for the guild of Dionysiac artists who had entertained him in Samos.<sup>51</sup> Antony's demands, however, were but the last addition to the cumulative distresses of the civil wars. They left the provinces and client kingdoms of the East impoverished and bare of capital. Octavian's salvation after his victory depended upon securing in Egypt the last reserve of capital in the eastern world. In Asia Minor native and Roman alike could do nothing but wait for the measures of reconstruction that peace might bring. It was a realization of the necessities of the situation that led Octavian to cancel all public debts in the provinces of Asia Minor.<sup>52</sup>

The theory formulated by Ramsay and Rostovtzeff that Antony appropriated large areas of public land in Asia, which then passed on into the imperial domains under Augustus and his successors, does not appear to stand up under investigation. I have elsewhere shown that there was little public land in Asia and that the direct evidence, the occurrence of many Antonian names in Lydia, can be explained by a few gifts of citizenship or the presence of a few freedmen, while the evidence direct and indirect is against the theory that there existed large amounts of imperial land in the early Empire. Village communities do not necessarily indicate estates, and the properties of Augustus and his family in Asia were not large. The aim of the proscriptions and of Antony's later collections was to provide cash through the sale of properties. This undoubtedly caused very extensive transfers of property but probably left in Antony's hand only a small residue of unsold land (see p. 554 above and *T. A. P. A.*, LXV [1934], 213 ff. and literature cited there; esp. Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, 287-91; *S. E. H. R. E.*, 299, note 1 [Ital. ed.]).

<sup>47</sup> See above, notes 283-285.

<sup>48</sup> *Ant.*, 68.

<sup>49</sup> *Plut., Ant.*, 56.

<sup>50</sup> Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXIII, 132: *miscuit denario triumvir Antonius ferrum*; cf. Grueber, *Coins Rom. Repub. Br. Mus.*, II, 526, note 1; 527, note 3.

<sup>51</sup> *Hermes*, XXXII (1897), 509 ff. (letter to the Koinon of Asia): *περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὧν ἤγειτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τιμίων καὶ φιλανθρώπων τῆς ἀστρατευσίας καὶ ἀλειτουρησίας πάσης καὶ ἀνεπισταθμείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν παρήγουριν ἐκεχειρίας καὶ ἀσυλλίας καὶ πορφύρας, ἵνα συγχωρήσω γράψαι παραχρῆμα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, συγχωρῶ βουλόμενος*; *Jahreshefte*, XIV (1911), beibl., 124 ff.; *Plut., Ant.*, 56-57. This disposal of Priene has left no epigraphical record and was probably soon revoked.

<sup>52</sup> Dio Chrys., *Orat.*, XXXI, 66: *ἴδεν πᾶσιν ἐδόθη τοῖς ἔξωθεν χρεῶν ἀφεσις*.

*Antony's Organization of Asia Minor.* The deaths of Mithridates of Pergamum and of Caesar gave Deiotarus his opportunity to resume control of the Trocmi. Antony confirmed him in 44 from Caesar's *acta* in return for 10,000,000 HS (2,500,000 denarii).<sup>53</sup> Although he supported the Liberators, his secretary Amyntas deserted to Antony in time at Philippi and the old king remained upon his throne. By slaying his son-in-law, Castor of Gorbæus, he managed to unite all the Galatians under his control some time between 43 and his death in 41-40.<sup>54</sup> Antony then divided the kingdom: Galatia proper and the territory of a chieftain named Attalus were given to Castor, a grandson of Deiotarus; inner Paphlagonia either in 39 or 36 to another grandson, Deiotarus Philadelphus; and the Pontic possessions to Dareius, a grandson of Mithridates.<sup>55</sup> Apparently until 37 or 36 he continued the son of Ariobarzanes, Ariarathes, in Cappadocia, in spite of the ambitions of Archelaus Sisines, priest of Comana of Cappadocia and son of the priest of Pontic Comana whom Caesar had dispossessed.<sup>56</sup> The Parthian invasions forced many readjustments which finally built up a system of client-states based upon three able kings. Against the Pisidians, who had relapsed into brigandage, he set Amyntas, the former secretary of Deiotarus, in 39, giving him also Phrygia toward Pisidia. On the death of Castor in 36 he added Galatia, Lycaonia, and most of Pamphylia (this included Selge and the coast about Side), thus giving him responsibility for peace and order in much of central Asia Minor and in the western part of the old province of Cilicia. The reduction of the unruly Taurus tribes became his chief task.<sup>57</sup> He began with the brigand, Antipater of Derbe. Polemo of the famous Laodicean family received in 38 Lycaonia and Cilicia Tracheia,<sup>58</sup> another

<sup>53</sup> Strabo, XIII, 4, 3; Cic., *Phil.*, II, 94; *Att.*, XIV, 12, 1; 19, 2; XVI, 3, 6.

<sup>54</sup> Cass. Dio, XLVII, 48; *Rev. Arch.*, VI (1935), 2, 133 ff. (see note 13); Strabo, XII, 5, 3.

<sup>55</sup> Cass. Dio, XLVIII, 33, 5 (Castor); Strabo, XII, 3, 41; Plut., *Ant.*, 61, 63; Cass. Dio, L, 13 (Deiotarus Philadelphus); App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 75, 39 B. C. (Dareius); cf. Strabo, XII, 3, 13; 38: his brother Arsaces attempted to succeed him and raised a revolt when Polemo received Pontus in 36.

<sup>56</sup> Cass. Dio, XLIX, 32, 3; Tac., *Ann.*, II, 42; Strabo, XII, 2, 11 favor 36 B. C. for Archelaus' succession; App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 7 favours 41. The change to Archelaus is best motivated by the need of ensuring Cappadocia's loyalty in the Parthian war. On his lineage, see Cass. Dio, l. c.

<sup>57</sup> App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 75; Cass. Dio, XLVII, 48, 2; XLIX, 32, 3; L, 13, 8; LIII, 26, 3; Strabo, XII, 5, 1; 6, 1-5; 7, 3; XIV, 5, 6; Plut., *Ant.*, 61, 63; Vell. Pat., II, 84, 2; Head, *Hist. Num.*, 747; his mint was at Side.

<sup>58</sup> *Eph. Epig.*, II, 280 ff.; IX, 691 ff.; Ramsay, *O. B.*, 42; Strabo, XII, 8, 16; 6, 1 (Iconium); App., *Bell. Civ.*, V, 75 (Cilicia Tracheia); cf. Strabo, XIV, 5, 6.



unruly area, but when in 36 Antony gave Cleopatra the latter, once a source of timber for Ptolemy Philadelphus (he had given her Cyprus in 40 B. C.),<sup>59</sup> Lycaonia and Isauria were given to Amyntas and Polemo was rewarded with the now vacant throne of Dareius in Pontus and received also before 34, probably in 36, Armenia Minor, the chief point of defence on the upper Euphrates.<sup>60</sup>

It is significant that at this time, if not earlier, Antony chose to break up the Pontic province as Cilicia had already been broken up. Pompey's cities had either failed or the wars had caused the country to retrogress. In any case Antony's action represents a reversal of policy. The king of Inner Paphlagonia now or earlier received Pompeiopolis and the Amnias valley, and the district of Phazemonitis east of the Halys.<sup>61</sup> It is probable that Polemo received the territory of Amaseia which Strabo says came again under kings (XII, 3, 39). Lycomedes remained priest of the temple state of Comana Pontica and, when Antony (if Caesar had not done so already) suppressed the autonomy of Megalopolis and Zela, received 100 schoeni (3,000 stades) of additional territory. The priest of Zela shared in the division, but probably the major portion went to a Celtic prince named Ateporix.<sup>62</sup> Besides these may be mentioned the petty dynasts who flourished under Antony: Strato in Amisus; Adiatorix in the extensive native city and territory of Heracleia Pontica, who before Actium murdered the Romans and wiped out the colony; and Musa Orsobaris and Orodaltis, the daughter of Lycomedes, queens in Cius.<sup>63</sup> This tendency was not confined to Bithynia and Pontus. We find Nicias in Cos; Cleon, the prince of the unruly Mysian Olympus; the personal ascendancy of Hybreas in Mylasa and of Boethus in Tarsus; and, with Cleopatra's support, the appointment of Aba as priestess at Olba of Cilicia.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Strabo, XIV, 6, 6; cf. Cass. Dio, XLII, 35, 5; XLVIII, 40, 6; XLIX, 32, 5 (36 B. C.); 41, 2; Plut., *Ant.*, 36, 54 (Cyprus); Strabo, XIV, 5, 3; Plut., *Ant.*, 36 (Cilicia).

<sup>60</sup> Cass. Dio, XLIX, 25, 4; 33, 3 (wrongly dated to 34); 44, 3; Strabo, XI, 2, 18; XII, 3, 29; 38; 8, 16; Plut., *Ant.*, 38, 61; Head, *Hist. Num.*, 502. On the policy of Pompey and Antony regarding client kings in the east, see Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, 32, 69, 100 ff.

<sup>61</sup> Anderson, *Anat. Stud.*, 6-10; cf. *I. G. R. P.*, III, 135; 139 (for era of Pompeiopolis); *Stud. Pont.*, III, 33, 73, 75 ff., no. 66; Strabo, XII, 3, 38. Ramsay, *R. F. G.*, VI (1893), 251 ff.; cf. on Caesareia of the Proseilemmenitae, Jones, *C. B. R. P.*, 169.

<sup>62</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 37; 35; Anderson, *loc. cit.*

<sup>63</sup> See respectively Strabo, XII, 3, 14; 6; Head, *Hist. Num.*, 513; see Macurdy, *Vassal-Queens*, 27 ff. on Musa Orsobaris and Orodaltis.

<sup>64</sup> Strabo, XIV, 2, 19; Head, *Hist. Num.*, 634; Strabo, XII, 8, 8-9; XIV, 2, 24;

Finally, in the important kingdom of Cappadocia Archelaus was substituted by or before 36 for the disloyal Ariarathes;<sup>65</sup> Tarcondimotus of eastern Cilicia was strengthened and built a capital at Hieropolis Castabala<sup>66</sup> (a check on Commagene?); and in Commagene a brother, Mithridates, replaced the Parthophile Antiochus in 38.<sup>67</sup> That the system which Antony set up was in the main a good one adapted to the conditions of the country is shown by its continuance with only gradual changes under Augustus, who seems to have been as much convinced as Antony of the worth of the three major appointees, Polemo, Amyntas, and Archelaus, and continued some of the lesser ones as well.

Among the cities we find that, as a reward for its stand against the Parthians, Aphrodisias received a guarantee of freedom and immunity with right of asylum for the sanctuary of Aphrodite.<sup>68</sup> It seems hardly likely that Mylasa and others had to wait for their reward, but the evidence does not antedate the battle of Actium.<sup>69</sup> Antony probably confirmed the freedom of Seleuceia on the Calycadnus (Strabo, XIV, 5, 6), but Antioch of Pisidia was placed directly under the control of Amyntas (*ibid.*, XII, 8, 4; 14).

Professor Ferguson (*C. A. H.*, VII, 40) has well said that the Romans first frustrated and then undertook themselves the mission of the Hellenistic Age. Far from continuing the careful yet progressive policies of the Attalid kings the Roman Republic had exploited in peace and pillaged in war the human and material resources of the eastern provinces until all their available reserves were exhausted. Except for Pompey's effort Hellenization and urbanization were little if at all advanced, and in fact there was retrogression rather than progress. It was only after the regime of Augustus brought recovery, and with the perennial peace of the Empire, that the economic and social movements initiated by the Hellenistic kings could reach their fullest development.

5, 14; 5, 10, respectively. On Nicias of Cos see also Herzog, *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXXV (1922), 189 ff.

<sup>65</sup> See note 56; Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, 752.

<sup>66</sup> *O. G. I. S.*, 752-4; Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, 735; Cass. Dio, L, 14, 2; Plut., *Ant.*, 61.

<sup>67</sup> Joseph., *Ant.*, XIV, 15, 9; *Bell. Jud.*, I, 16, 7; Orosius, VI, 18, 25; Mithridates was king in 31, Plut., *Ant.*, 61.

<sup>68</sup> *O. G. I. S.*, 453-5; Tac., *Ann.*, III, 62.

<sup>69</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, III, 62; *S. I. G.*<sup>2</sup>, 768; see note 43.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A.B.S.A.:** *Annual of the British School in Athens.*
- A.E.:** *L'année épigraphique.*
- A.J.A.:** *American Journal of Archaeology.*
- A.J.P.:** *American Journal of Philology.*
- A.M.:** *Mitteilungen d. deutsch. Archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.*
- Anat. Stud.:** *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay, Manchester, 1923.*
- Annuario:** *Annuario della R. Scuola Archaeologica di Atene.*
- Aristides:** *Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei quae supersunt omnia*, ed. B. Keil, II, 1898.
- Ausgrab.**
- Asclep.:** *Theodor Wiegand, Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Pergamon, 1928-32: Das Asklepieion.*
- B.C.H.:** *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*
- B.M.C.:** *Catalogues of the Greek Coins in the British Museum.*
- Bosch:** *C. Bosch, Die kleinasiatischen Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit, Teil II, Band I: Bithynien, 1 Hälfte, Stuttgart, 1935.*
- Bull.**
- A.C.L.S.:** *Bulletin of the American Council of Learned Societies.*
- Buresch:** *K. Buresch, Aus Lydien, Leipzig, 1898.*
- C.A.H.:** *The Cambridge Ancient History.*
- C.B.:** *W. M. Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, Oxford, 1895 and 1897.*
- C.I.G.:** *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*
- C.I.L.:** *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
- C.Ph.:** *Classical Philology.*
- C.R.:** *Classical Review.*
- C.R.Ac.:** *Contes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.*
- D. and S.:** *Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines.*
- Denkmäler**
- Lyk., etc.:** *Swoboda, Keil, Knoll, Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien, und Isaurien, Vienna, 1935.*
- Dio Chrys.:** *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae exstant omnia*, ed. J. De Arnim; I, 1893; II, 1896.
- E.J.:** *J. R. S. Sterrett, An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor, in Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, II, 1883-4.*
- E.R.P.:** *Studies in the History and the Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ed. W. M. Ramsay, Aberdeen, 1906.
- F.E.:** *Forschungen in Ephesos, I, 1906; II, 1912; III, 1923; IV, 1. 1932.*
- F.H.G.:** *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. and Th. Müller.
- Führer:** *J. Keil, Führer durch Ephesos, Vienna, 1930.*
- Hatzfeld:** *J. Hatzfeld, Les trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient hellénique, Paris, 1919.*
- Head:** *Head, Historia Numorum, 2nd ed., 1911.*
- H.G.:** *W. M. Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor, London, 1890.*
- I.B.M.:** *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.*
- I.G.:** *Inscriptiones Graecae.*
- I.G.R.P.:** *Cagnat and Lafaye, Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes.*
- I.L.S.:** *Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.*
- I.O.S.P.E.:** *Latyshev, Inscriptiones Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini, I\*, 1916; II, 1890; IV, 1901.*

- Jahresh.*: *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.*  
*J.H.S.*: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies.*  
 Jones,  
*C.E.R.P.*: A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford, 1937.  
*J.R.S.*: *The Journal of Roman Studies.*  
*Judeich*: Humann, Cichorius, Judeich, Winter, *Altertümer von Hierapolis*, Berlin, 1898.  
*K.P.*: *Bericht über eine (zweite, dritte) Reise in Lydien*, in *Denkschriften der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, LII, 2, 1908 (I); LIV, 2, 1911 (II); LVII, 1, 1914 (III).  
 Lancko-  
 ronski: Lanckoronski, Niemann, Petersen, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, I, 1890; II, 1892, Vienna.  
*Laum*: B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, Leipzig, 1914.  
*L.W.*: P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, III, Paris, 1870.  
*M.A.*: *Monumenti Antichi* (also *Mon. Ant.*).  
*M.A.M.A.*: *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vols. I-V, Manchester, 1928-1937.  
*O.G.I.S.*: Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*.  
*O.R.F.*: Malcovati, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, Turin, 1930.  
*P.A.S.*: *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, I, 1882-83.  
*Pergamon*: *Altertümer von Pergamon*.  
*P.I.R.*: *Prosopographia Imperi Romani*, I-III, Berlin, 1897-98; 2nd ed., A-C, parts 1 and 2, 1933-36.  
*P.W.*: Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertums-wissenschaft*.  
*R.A.*: *Revue Archéologique*.  
*R.E.A.*: *Revue des Etudes Anoiennes*.  
*R.E.G.*: *Revue des Etudes Grecques*.  
*R.Ph.*: *Revue de Philologie*.  
 Robert,  
*Et. An.*: L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, Paris, 1937.  
 Robert,  
*Villes*: L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1935.  
*Schede*: M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene*, Berlin, 1934.  
*S.E.G.*: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, I-VI, Leyden, 1923-32.  
*S.E.H.R.E.*: M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Eng. ed., Oxford, 1926; Ital. ed., Firenze, 1933.  
*S.I.G.<sup>3</sup>*: Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., 1915-24.  
*T.A.M.*: *Tituli Asiae Minoris*.  
*T.A.P.A.*: *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.  
*Waltzing*: J. P. Waltzing, *Les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*.  
*W.H.*: J. R. S. Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens*, III, 1884-85.  
*Welles*: Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence of the Hellenistic Kings*, New Haven, 1934.

For other abbreviations and titles the reader is referred to the bibliography of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XI, pp. 915-919.